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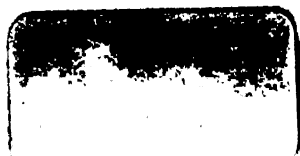
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I.L.P. PAMPHLETS.

REPORT OF 1908 CONFERENCE.

WITH LIST OF BRANCHES, ETC.

SOCIALISM.

BY T. D. BENSON.

SOCIALISM AND SERVICE.

BY T. D. BENSON.

DARWINISM AND SOCIALISM.

BY LAURENCE SMALL, B.SC.

THE INDIVIDUAL UNDER SOCIALISM.

BY PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.

SOCIALISM AND AGRICULTURE.

BY RICHARD HIGGS.

BACK TO THE LAND.

BY PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.

SECULAR EDUCATION.

BY HARRY SNELL.

OLD AGE PENSIONS THIS YEAR.

BY PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.

WOMAN THE COMMUNIST.

BY T. D. BENSON.

WOMAN'S FRANCHISE.

BY E. C. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY.

INFANT MORTALITY.

BY MARGARET MACMILLAN.

STRAIGHT TALK TO RATEPAYERS.

BY PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.

MUNICIPAL BREAD SUPPLY.

BY TRAVERS H. GRIFFIN.

MUNICIPAL MILK SUPPLY.

BY COUNCILLOR A. W. SHORT.

THE RIGHT TO WORK.

BY H. RUSSELL SMART.

JOHN BULL AND HIS UNEMPLOYED.

BY J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY, 23, BRIDE LANE,

— FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C. —

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1908

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Univ. Place
B. B. 50
71719

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

REPORT

Of the

SIXTEENTH

ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Town Hall, Huddersfield,

April 19th, 20th, and 21st,

1908.

With List of Branches, Directories of Speakers and
I.L.P. Members on Public Bodies.



LONDON :

Independent Labour Party, 23, Bride Lane,
Fleet Street, E.C.

June, 1908.

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**"The Worker" Press,
Market Street,
Huddersfield.**

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INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

National Administrative Council.

Chairman—J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., 3, Lincolns Inn Fields, W.C.

Treasurer—T. D. BENSON, 8, York Street, Manchester.

National Members of the Council :

J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P., 14, Neville's Court, Fetter Lane, E.C.

PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P., 10, Baron's Court Road, W.

COUNCILLOR J. BRUCE GLASIER, Chapel-en-le-Frith, via Stockport.

WM. C. ANDERSON, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, E.C.

Divisional Members of the Council :

Division 1.—W. STEWART, 136, Crail Street, Parkhead, Glasgow.

Division 2.—REV. W. E. MOLL, St. Philip's Vicarage, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Division 3.—COUNCILLOR BEN RILEY, Westgate, Huddersfield.

Division 4.—JAMES HOWARD, Stonyhill, Middleton, Manchester.

Division 5.—W. FIELD, 73, Malefant Street, Cardiff.

Division 6.—H. BROCKHOUSE, "Lawnside," Hill Top, West Bromwich.

Division 7.—MISS McMILLAN, 51, Tweedy Road, Bromley, Kent.

General Secretary—FRANCIS JOHNSON.

Organising Secretary—WM REDDEFORD.

Monthly Review—THE SOCIALIST REVIEW.

Official Weekly Organ of the Party :

THE LABOUR LEADER—J. BRUCE GLASIER, *Editor*.

Editorial Office : THE HOTSPUR PRESS, Whitworth Street, W., Manchester.

Publishing Offices : 5, Cromford Court, Manchester ; and 23, Bride Lane, London.

Head Offices :

23, BRIDE LANE, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.

TELEGRAMS : ILPER, LONDON.

TELEPHONE : 1302 CITY.

N.A.C. REPORT, 1907-8.

Presented to the Sixteenth Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party held at Huddersfield, on April 20th and 21st, 1908.

FELLOW MEMBERS,—

We have to congratulate the Party on its growth during the past year. On March 1st, 1907, there were 545 branches on the Register, and on February 29th, 1908, there were 765, a net increase of 220 branches, more than have been established in any one preceding year. Our report which follows is but a statement of progress made, which we hope will even be excelled during the next twelve months.

FINANCES.

The unprecedented activity and growth of the Party during the past year may be seen in the financial statement which the N.A.C. have to submit. They have once again to report a handsome surplus of income over expenditure amounting to £571, raising the assets of the Party to £3,762—as against £3,190 last year, and £679 in 1906.

Although the gross income for the Party for the year ending February 28th, 1907, included the special effort “Hardie Jubilee Fund” of £2,428, it has been surpassed this year by £634, whilst, compared with 1906, the advance is over £5,900.

The Affiliation Fees for the first time are over £1,000, being £1,103, as against £767 and £477 for the previous two years, an increase in two years of £626.

The cash at call in case of emergency amounts to £1,989, as against £2,097 last year.

The Special Effort Fund has realised the handsome total of £785. As no special pressure was exercised to swell this fund, the amount subscribed was very satisfactory, considering the heavy calls upon branches for local Election and Organising expenditure.

Mrs. Glasier very kindly offered for the benefit of the funds a volume of stories entitled “Tales from the Derbyshire Hills.” Her gift was supplemented by the printer, who did his share of the work for the bare cost of materials, and the fund has already been augmented by £45 as a result of this gift. We desire to thank these and other members and friends who contributed.

The amount spent on Organising was £1,042, an increase of £600 on the preceding year. It is, therefore, doubly gratifying to find that, notwithstanding this heavy expenditure, the general fund shows a surplus already mentioned of £571.

The Affiliation Fees, although showing a gratifying increase, for the past year, are in no way indicative of the membership of the Party. At one penny per month they represent fees on 22,000 members only, for the whole period. The local branch membership is certainly double that number, and we desire to impress upon the branches of the Party the necessity of their Affiliation Fees bearing some closer relationship to the actual membership.

We recommend that the rules of the Party be altered so as to enable the Council to strike off from Affiliation any branch which is more than six months in arrears with its payments.

LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

After allocating a fair share of the expenses to the literature department, that department shows a surplus of £493. The department has amply repaid the care devoted to it, and the N.A.C. have appointed a manager with special training in this work to take entire charge of it, and to push the I.L.P. literature through the usual Book and News-agencies in order that it may widely reach the general public. Still better results are, therefore, expected from this source in future.

PARLIAMENTARY FUND.

The balance at the credit of the Parliamentary Fund now stands at £128. The expenditure from this Fund includes the payments to the Labour Party, and the additional grants of £10 each to the I.L.P. members, together with the Parliamentary maintenance of Mr. Grayson. The Conference is invited to consider some method of augmenting and maintaining this Fund for Parliamentary Representation, and how far the Party is prepared to increase its responsibilities.

OFFICE.

The rapid growth of the Party has very greatly increased the work at the Head Office. In order to secure efficiency in dealing with the now complex duties, it has been found necessary to subdivide the work. Mr. Reddeford, our former book-keeper, having shown special aptitude for the work, has been placed in charge of the Organising Department. A new book-keeper has been selected in place of Mr. Reddeford.

The growing demand for Socialist literature in the Party and in the country has enabled us to separate our trading depart-

ment from the general work of the office, and Mr. Rowland Kenney, a member of the Party with special training, has been appointed Manager.

Mr. Johnson, freed from extraneous work, will now be able to devote himself entirely to his duties as General Secretary of the Party. The number of employes now in the office is 16.

LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

Additional premises had to be acquired in December owing to the growth and activity of the Publication Department. The total sales have amounted to £4,663—more than the whole of the three preceding years, which were as under :—

					£	s.	d.
1904—1905	..	..	..	..	560	7	2
1905—1906	..	..	..	..	1202	6	5
1906—1907	..	..	..	..	2626	11	10

The financial statement of the Publication Department shows that the sum of £493, being balance on the year's working, after charging cost of removal, fitting up of warehouse, share of salaries, rent, etc., has been transferred to the general funds of the Party.

The remarkable progress of the department is very satisfactory. We ask all branches and members to do their best to see that the rate of progress is continued.

Propaganda, by the development of literature stalls, has continued, and in nearly every case has met with success. We again recommend to branches to consider the establishment of these stalls. Considerable improvement has taken place in the arrangements for the sale of literature at meetings held under the auspices of the Party; but there is still room for better organisation. The Head Office will always be pleased to render assistance or give advice on these matters.

The list of pamphlets issued during the twelve months is as follows :—

" Workmen's Compensation Act."	Philip Snowden, M.P.
" Merchant Shipping Bill."	T. Gavan Duffy.
" Social Education."	F. Kettle.
" Mining Royalties."	T. I. Mardy Jones. .
" Liberalism plus Capitalism."	T. Gavan Duffy.
" Unemployed Bill."	J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P.
" Old Age Pensions This Year."	Philip Snowden, M.P.
" Secular Education."	Harry Snell.
" Back to the Land."	Philip Snowden, M.P.
" Socialism and Agriculture."	Richard Higgs.
" Will Socialism destroy the Home."	H. G. Wells.
New editions have also been printed of :—	
" Who are the Bloodsuckers ? "	Casey.

- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| "Straight Talk to Ratepayers." | Philip Snowden, M.P. |
| "Socialism." | T. D. Benson. |
| "Right to Work." | H. Russell Smart. |
| "Can a Man be a Christian
on a Pound a Week." | J. Keir Hardie. |
| "How Millionaires are Made." | J. Bruce Glasier. |
| "Individualism Under Socialism." | Philip Snowden, M.P. |

The sales of the Socialist Library have continued to be most satisfactory; reprints of the first two volumes having been necessary. A fifth volume, "Collectivism and Industrial Evolution," by Emile Vandervelde, has been published, and a revised edition—the sixth—of "Socialism and Society" is in preparation.

An extra volume, illustrated, "The Revolution in the Baltic Provinces of Russia," was also published at the same price as the other volumes in the series.

We had hoped to transmit to our comrades in the Baltic Provinces a substantial amount from the profits of the sale of this last volume, but we regret to say that hardly sufficient copies have been sold to cover the cost of production.

The first issue of the "I.L.P. Year Book," edited by Philip Snowden, M.P., was published in December, and has been well received. It is intended to publish this yearly, and many improvements will be made in the next issue.

A threepenny series of booklets has been inaugurated by the publication of "The Labour Pilgrim's Progress," by H. T. Muggidge. This has been most successful, and further volumes of this series will be issued.

Arrangements have been made for the publication of a monthly "Socialist Review," which, we hope, will have a great influence on the intellectual side of our movement. The first number was issued on March 1st, 1908. It has received a remarkable welcome by the Press and the public, and we hope our branches will see that it is well circulated and advertised.

Preliminary steps have been taken for the establishment of a Lantern Slide and Lantern Department, and it will be in full working order in time for the next indoor season.

ORGANISING.

The outstanding organising and propaganda features of the year have been:—

- (1) The creation and development of an Organising Department at the Head Office.
- (2) The linking up of the branches throughout the country by means of District Councils or Federations.
- (3) The engagement of propagandists by these District Councils and Federations, with the help of grants from the N.A.C.
- (4) The Anti-Socialist Campaign.

The Organising Department of the Head Office was established early in the year, and its scope and work increased so rapidly as to make necessary the appointment of an Organising Secretary, who should devote his whole time to it.

The work of the department has been (a) to keep the N.A.C. in touch with the propaganda work of the Party, and to advise members of the Council as to where special demonstrations might be held with advantage; (b) to assist branches with speakers, especially in times of urgency or of breakdown in local arrangements; (c) to record and stimulate the work done by propagandists; (d) to watch the literature sales and the literature propaganda of the Party; (e) to lend aid and give advice to inexperienced branches, so that demonstrations and meetings and everything connected therewith might be effectively carried out.

Our Federations and Branches have received much help during the year from the Organising Department in these various ways. It is hoped during the coming year to increase its usefulness still further.

The Council, through its Divisional Representatives, has stimulated the formation of District Councils and Federations of branches throughout the country. Practically the whole of the branches in the kingdom are now attached to local Federations. In most cases the Federations are county ones. In Yorkshire the branches are federated in Parliamentary Divisions. Where branches are few and scattered, large Federations cover two or three counties.

The success of this Federation scheme has been made possible the appointment of a considerable number of full-time propagandists, as outlined in the scheme endorsed at the last Conference. Since May last the number of propagandists engaged has varied from 17 to 25. For the coming season the Council proposes to increase the number to about 27. The Council made grants of 20s. per week during the first six months towards the salary of each of the propagandists engaged under this scheme. The Federations employing them provided the remainder. Owing to the success of the work during the summer, the Council decided to continue it through the winter, and to increase their grants towards salaries to 30s. per week.

The Federation Scheme has had many advantages besides that of making possible the engagement of a large number of propagandists than would have been the case if the Federations were non-existent. It has consolidated more or less isolated branches, and has developed a spirit of mutual help and propaganda zeal. It has provided a means of putting a large number of branches into living touch with informed representatives of the National movement. It has stimulated propaganda on virgin

soil, and many of the new branches formed this year have been directly due to the activity of the Federations and their Organisers. It has spread a knowledge amongst affiliated branches of the most effective means of branch organisations now in practice.

The following propagandists have been at work for varying periods in the seven divisions as under :—

(1) SCOTLAND.

J. Duncan, G. Green, T. Drife, G. Kerr.

(2) NORTHUMBERLAND AND DURHAM.

M. T. SIMM.

(3) YORKSHIRE.

F. Hick, A. Pickles, J. Walker.

(4) LANCASHIRE, CHESHIRE, AND NORTH WALES.

T. Platt, L. J. Caffery, E. Clarke, J. H. Standring, J. R. Ferrey.

(5) SOUTH WALES.

G. H. Bibbings, H. Eastwood, E. Black, W. Trainer, T. I. Jones.

(6) MIDLANDS.

J. W. Kneeshaw, G. Titt, T. Phillips, T. Sharpe, T. Sharkey, S. T. Hanks.

(7) LONDON AND DISTRICT.

J. Mylles, F. Montague, J. J. Potter, D. McDougall, E. McAllen.

Of these the following are now at work :—J. Duncan, Geo. Kerr, M. T. Simm, F. Hick, A. Pickles, J. Walker, T. Platt, L. J. Caffrey, J. H. Strandring, J. R. Ferrey, G. H. Bibbings, H. Eastwood, E. Black, W. Trainer, J. W. Kneeshaw, J. Mylles, F. Montague, J. J. Potter, E. McAllen.

During the year the sum of £1,042 has been spent upon organising, details of which will be found on page 18.

London, which up to a short time ago, had been looked upon as a hopeless place for the Party, has made considerable progress during the year. There are now 56 branches in and around London, and they are federated into five Councils, consisting of a central Council, and four affiliated district Councils in the North, South, East, and West. An organiser is now engaged by each of these four District Councils, and very excellent work has been done, especially among the Metropolitan Trade Union branches. All the Councils are active, and are tackling the huge problem before them in a new spirit.

During the year the movement has been firmly established in Ireland. There are now five branches in the Belfast District, and a branch has also been formed in Dublin.

The usual yearly demonstrations have been held during Trade Union Congress week, and at the time of the Labour Party Conference, the former at Bath, and the latter at Hull. Both of these demonstrations were very successful.

During the last Parliamentary recess, the Chairman of the Party undertook a propaganda tour throughout the country, consisting of about 60 meetings, all of which were remarkable for their size and enthusiasm.

The Council decided to hold a National I.L.P. demonstration at Lanark on June 6th next, in celebration of the 50th anniversary of Robert Owen's death, with the co-operation of the Lanarkshire Miners and the Scottish Co-operators.

One of the greatest difficulties which has confronted the N.A.C. on maintaining and strengthening the position of the Party throughout the country, has been the fact that large districts have been left unvisited by prominent speakers for considerable periods owing to the non-success of branches in these districts in securing dates. At the last Council meeting it was decided, therefore, to try to remedy this to some extent by inaugurating a National Speakers' Campaign. During the present year an endeavour will be made to secure for each of these districts at least one visit by a prominent speaker. Owing to the many speakers having booked their dates very far ahead, it is doubtful whether this can be wholly accomplished this year, but a good start may be made. It is hoped to make this Campaign annual.

THE ANTI-SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN.

The past year has been memorable in the history of British Socialism, by the inauguration of the Anti-Socialist Campaign. This campaign had its inception in the alarm excited by the Socialist and Labour successes at the General Election, and an alarm which was greatly accentuated by the pronouncement of the Liberal Member of Elibank, after the Cocker mouth Election, was finally stirred into a panic by the remarkable victories of Pete Curran at Jarrow and Victor Grayson in the Colne Valley.

The Tory Party has constituted itself into a champion against Socialism. The Liberal Party, though not officially taking part in the campaign, and although many Liberal politicians and newspapers have either held entirely aloof or expressly dissociated themselves from it, has nevertheless, in Parliamentary contests and in local politics, joined bitterly and unscrupulously in the attack upon Socialism. All of this has been a great gain to our cause. The attack has called forth a great Socialist counter campaign, in which the I.L.P. has played a magnificent part. It is impossible to estimate the volume of propaganda which our men and women have carried on during the past year, but we are justified in saying that never before has a political party in this country held so many meetings or elicited so much spontaneous working-class sympathy and enthusiasm.

The Anti-Socialist Campaign has thus had a rousing effect for Socialism in the nation. Socialism has been the one absorbing topic of discussion during the past nine months. Great debates upon it have taken place, and the Press has been flooded with speeches and letters on the subject. Millions of people have been compelled to consider the question seriously for the first time, and hundreds of thousands of sympathisers have been brought to our side.

Incidentally, the attack on certain statements in Socialist writings has enabled us to make clear that Socialism makes no pronouncement on theological beliefs, and that the Socialist stands for a higher conception of the social and mutual obligations of marriage, and of the importance of the home and the family, than has ever prevailed under capitalistic conditions. And here we would note that those expressions which have been seized upon as the ground of false accusations concerning the economic and moral aims of Socialism are expressions that have rarely been found in the utterance of men and women of the I.L.P. Nor should we omit to mention that the agitation aroused by the Anti-Socialist Campaign has brought to our side a remarkable accession of support from among the clergy, of both the Established and the Free Churches.

An interesting episode in the battle has been the sallying forth of a squadron of some twenty odd Tory Vans equipped with gramophones, magic lanterns, leaflets and lectures, into the highways and byways, especially the latter. The fate of their vans is not unlikely to form a comic parody on the history of the Spanish Armada.

POLITICAL.

The detailed work of our Members in Parliament is the subject of a separate report to the Conference. All that we need therefore say here is, that during the past year your members have upheld their position in Parliament, and it has been largely owing to that that our opponents started their violent winter campaign against us. The Session of 1907 was consumed by two sections of legislation, Military and Agrarian, and in connection with both, our members upheld the Socialist attitude. As the Session proceeded, however, it was evident that the Labour Party was occupying its energies in preparation for the following year, and was busy getting the Government committed to do something with OLD AGE PENSIONS, and producing its own scheme for an UNEMPLOYMENT BILL, with the idea of forcing the hands of the local Government Board later on. Although the report which your members will be able to give you is of itself work done, the Session of 1907, from our point of view, can be best described as having been a preparation for that of 1908.

The only bye-election in which the Party was directly concerned was that of the Colne Valley. This unfortunately, has been the subject of misunderstanding and some disaffection, and after it was over, we issued a statement to the branches. Our position briefly, was as follows :—

We were instructed by the Derby Conference to see that our candidatures were promoted in accordance with the Constitution mutually adopted by ourselves and the Labour Party to promote unity in the Socialist and Trade Unionist ranks, and we considered that the Colne Valley candidature did not correspond with those conditions. We, therefore, were unable to give Mr. Grayson that whole-hearted official support which he otherwise would have received.

The situation was certainly one which placed us as your Council in a difficult and unpleasant position, and which, in the interests of the movement, we hope will never be repeated. Although, as the Trustees of the Independent Labour Party, we were bound to observe the constitution of the Party, nevertheless, when a contest was inevitable we did everything we consistently could do to make it a success, and we opened the usual Election Fund through the "Labour Leader," and passed the following resolution :—

"That the N.A.C. agrees to the branches of the I.L.P. in Colne Valley fighting the Colne Valley Bye-Election."

The result of the Election was :—

Victor Grayson (Socialist)	3,648
Philip Bright (Liberal)	3,465
Granville Wheler (Unionist)	3,227

as compared with 1895 :—

Kitson (Lib.)	4,276
Thomas (Con.)	3,737
Tom Mann (I.L.P.)	1,245

Since Mr. Grayson was returned, he has been receiving from the I.L.P. Parliamentary Fund a sum for maintenance equivalent to that paid to the other I.L.P. members. This sum comes entirely out of the Party funds, and it is for the Conference to endorse the action of the Council in making this grant, and to say whether it shall be continued.

Although Mr. Grayson is thus fully recognised as an I.L.P. member, he does not belong to the Labour Party in the House of Commons. We came to an arrangement with the Colne Valley Labour League, which provided that this matter should be raised and decided by the Conference.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND OLD AGE PENSIONS.

During the year the Party has kept up the agitation for a new Unemployed Bill and for Old Age Pensions. On July 9th Mr. J. R. Macdonald, M.P., on behalf of the Parliamentary Labour Party, introduced, under the Ten Minutes' rule, an Unemployed Bill, which had been approved by both the Labour Party and the Trade Union Group. There was no chance to get the Bill discussed last Session, but it was introduced so that its provisions might be made known and form the basis of the winter campaign in the country. Our branches rendered very useful service in bringing the Bill to the notice of their local Councils, and in many cases these bodies passed resolutions in its support.

The Labour Party moved an Amendment to the King's Speech regretting the omission of reference to the unemployed. The debate on this was of an exceptionally useful character; the only unworthy incident being the speech by the President of the Local Government Board. The Government majority fell to 49, and, remembering that the support of the amendment was tantamount to a vote of censure on the Government, the result must be considered a great victory for the Labour Party.

The subsequent rejection of the Bill on its second reading by 267 to 118 votes shows, however, that no reliance whatever can be placed on the pledges and promises of Liberal and Tory members respecting measure which menace landlords' and capitalists' interests. The Labour Party, however, will press forward this question with all its might in Parliament and the country.

The boom of trade is over, and we are already faced by a serious depression. The number of unemployed is rising, and in such circumstances it is incumbent upon the I.L.P. not to slacken, but rather to increase its effort to secure the Right to Work.

The promise made last April by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that Old Age Pensions would be started this year gave the opportunity for the I.L.P. to give special prominence in meetings to the Socialist ideas upon this question. In addition to pushing the pamphlet upon the subject, written by Mr. Philip Snowden, meetings have been held in all the centres of population, to rouse public interest and demand a satisfactory scheme. The amount of sympathy which the advocacy of our demand for a non-contributory universal scheme, financed by the taxation of surplus incomes, everywhere received was most encouraging.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.

The agitation for the enfranchisement of women has been carried on during the year with undiminished ardour. Their Parliamentary supporters were fortunate in the ballot, and on the 28th of February a Women's Suffrage Bill was read a second

time, the voting being 271 for ; 92 against. All the I.L.P. members of Parliament (except, of course, Mr. Hardie, who was away) voted for the Bill, Mr. Snowden, who was one of the backers of the Bill, speaking in its support. We are pleased to be able to say that in the opinion of our M.P.'s, the prospects for Women's Enfranchisement are distinctly hopeful, and the question is now regarded in Parliament as one of serious importance.

During the year, the Women's Local Government Disabilities Bill was passed into law, and women who are registered Municipal Voters are now eligible as candidates for Borough and County Councils.

We specially call the attention of our members to the fact that, as the law now is, all women over twenty-one, married or single, who have resided in a district for a year can be candidates for Parish, Rural District, and Urban Councils and Board of Guardians, and, as stated above, registered woman voters may be nominated for Borough and County Councils. We hope to see branches encouraging our women comrades in large numbers to come forward for these representative positions.

THE I.L.P. AND THE LABOUR PARTY.

The relations between ourselves and the Labour Party continue to be as harmonious as ever. Our branches have continued to do yeoman service to the Party, particularly during the bye-elections that have been fought, and the co-operation within the House of Commons continues to be complete. We take this, the first opportunity of congratulating heartily our old colleague on the N.A.C., Mr. Pete Curran, on his election for Jarrow.

We were represented at the Annual Conference of the Party which met at Hull by 18 delegates. In selecting these delegates, we were greatly hampered by the resolution at Derby, which, in its wording, limited us to select our additional representatives from the names nominated and voted upon by the Derby Conference. We had slightly to depart from this, however, because had we strictly confined ourselves to it, no woman would have been on our delegation, and we did not think this would have met with the wishes of the Party. If the N.A.C. is to be confined in future to filling up the delegation from those nominated at our Conference, much more care must be exercised to make the list of nominations representative and convenient in view of the place that the Conference is to be held ; but we believe that the Party will be much better served if after electing a nucleus of the delegation, it allows the N.A.C. to nominate the rest and instructs it to keep in mind the nature of the business of the Conference and its relation to the decisions of the I.L.P., and also the district where the Conference is to be held. It will be a matter of gratification to the Party to know that, whilst the attempt to in-

clude Socialism in the constitution of the Party was defeated by an overwhelming vote, a declaration that Socialism must be the idea which the political efforts of Labour is to work out was carried by a substantial majority.

CANDIDATES AND CANDIDATURES.

We have had under consideration many applications for the endorsement of candidatures and a private report on this subject has been circulated to the branches. We recommend that in future your Council should be empowered to decline to consider candidatures unless the branch asking for the endorsement can show that it has sufficient funds in hand to pay at least the Returning Officer's fee.

The list of I.L.P. candidates who have been adopted for constituencies is as follows :—

Anderson, W. C.	..	..	..	Hyde
Horner, H.	..	..	..	Keighley
Sanders, W.	..	..	..	Portsmouth
Turner, Ben	..	..	..	Dewsbury

This is in addition to our present Members of Parliament. Active negotiations are also being carried on with several constituencies,

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

The event in which Socialists throughout the world took great interest was that of the triennial International Socialist Congress held last August 17th to 26th, at Stuttgart. As empowered by the Derby Conference, the N.A.C. sent three of its members, J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., J. Bruce Glasier, and and T. Russell Williams as its representatives. Miss MacMillan and several other members of the Party who attended the Congress were added to the N.A.C. representation. The total British delegation consisted of S.D.F., 59; I.L.P., 34; Fabian, 14; unattached Socialist, 2; Trade Union, 7; Labour Party Executive, 2; in all 119 delegates. It will be seen that the number of delegates from these bodies bore no proportion to the relative strength of the membership which they represented—the S.D.F. delegation consisting one half of the total British representation though they stood for only some 7,000 or 8,000 members as against well over a million members belonging to the other bodies. This lack of a proportional basis of representation is an anomaly which greatly lessens the validity and authority of the Congress, and leads to much misunderstanding and friction. Early in the proceedings of the British section, the I.L.P. and the Labour Party had to appeal to the International Bureau against the partisan action of the majority of the British section, and the appeal was emphatically sustained by the Bureau. It is understood that some more equitable basis of delegation will be adopted in future.

It would be impossible to give here an account of the

debates and resolutions of the Congress, and we must refer our members to the descriptive reports and articles by Mr. and Mrs. MacDonald, Mr. Russell Smart, the Editor, and others, which appeared in the "Labour Leader." We may state, however, that the I.L.P. delegation influenced the Congress in an important degree—notably in strengthening the forward sections of our movement in France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, and Holland, in directing the policy of the Congress on constructive, rather than negative lines. Our Chairman who took an active part in the debates, vindicated the Socialist and Trade Union alliance and it was evident, notwithstanding the strongly expressed opposition of the S.D.F., that the International Congress and the Bureau approve the alliance. The British policy, as represented by the I.L.P. is unquestionably exercising a liberating and stimulating effect on the thought and activity of the whole International movement.

The "Class War" dogma was expressly interpreted by Vandervelde as meaning the principle of Independent political action of the British Labour Party, though Mr. Hyndman insisted that this was a personal expression of opinion merely.

Our delegates were also successful in securing the exemption of Britain and all non-conscription countries from the Citizen Army proposal.

Miss McMillan, Mrs. MacDonald, and other I.L.P. women delegates made a big fight in the Women's section for the policy of the Special Enfranchisement of Women, but they were voted down.

Mr. Hyndman, who was unanimously elected Chairman of the British Section, acted with the utmost impartiality; Mr. MacDonald was also unanimously elected Vice-Chairman of the section. Alderman Sanders, L.C.C., was elected Secretary of the British Section.

Finally, we record our opinion that while the Congress proceedings are greatly hampered by the difficulty of language, and by the long speeches in which some delegates habitually indulge, the Congress, nevertheless, is of immense value in promoting a good understanding between the Socialists of all nations, and in fostering the ideal, and helping forward the realisation, of international solidarity and peace.

The next Congress will be held at Copenhagen in 1910.

THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU.

Mr. Bruce Glasier attended the meeting of the International Bureau at Brussels last spring, in place of Mr. Keir Hardie, who was unable to go through illness. He also acted on the Bureau, in Mr. Hardie's place, during the International Congress. He was successful on both occasions in bringing the views of the I.L.P. into prominence, and in winning sympathetic attention to British Socialist and Labour interests.

At the meeting of the British section during the International Congress, Mr. Hardie and Mr. Hyndman were again elected British delegates to the Bureau, and Mr. Glasier was elected to act in place of Mr. Hardie, when necessary.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

The November Elections were characterised by a strong outburst of anti-Socialist feeling against out candidates, but in spite of that, 274 I.L.P. or Labour candidates went to the poll, and 78 were elected. There was a total of 43 seats gained and 31 lost; the net gain of the I.L.P. being 14.

A special leaflet, issued for the benefit of Women Labour candidates, was written by Philip Snowden, M.P., and as opportunities offer, other leaflets will be issued.

We have had several appeals for financial assistance from branches fighting libel cases, which have occurred owing to statements made by candidates during Municipal Elections, and we desire to impress upon members the necessity for making quite sure that statements which are likely to be considered libellous are properly authenticated. Where statements are challenged and taken into court by opponents, a thoroughly qualified solicitor should be engaged, and, if necessary, Counsel retained, in order that the defendant may be properly represented. The Head Office should be consulted if advice is desired, but we ure upon candidates, and others, the need for serious consideration before making any statements which are likely to be found incorrect. We must lay it down as an unbreakable rule not to give financial assistance on such occasions.

The Derby Conference remitted to us the question of forming Labour Representation Committees for the purpose of obtaining Representation on County Councils. We have considered the matter, and are of opinion that, with the formation of I.L.P. federations and district councils, these larger bodies would be able to take such steps as they thought necessary, and we recommend the District Councils in county areas to give consideration to this matter.

ELECTED PERSONS' CONFERENCE.

It has been suggested that a meeting of the I.L.P. persons elected to local public bodies be called, as in previous years, on the Saturday prior to the General Conference. We consider it very desirable that the local I.L.P. elected persons should confer to exchange ideas and improve their knowledge and experience. This end, however, has not been efficiently served by gatherings of a scratch character, poorly attended, and overshadowed by the larger gathering. If this work is worth doing, it should be done well, and we recommend the matter to your careful consideration.

We suggest that Conferences be called in each divisional area, of all elected persons in that area, at some time other than Easter, that the date as nearly as possible be the same for these divisional meetings, that the results of the deliberations be sent to the Head Office to be collected, tabulated and circulated among all those interested.

We further suggest a more extensive use of the Local Government Information Bureau, (jointly conducted by ourselves and the Fabian Society), which was established to supply information and advice in matters of local government.

"LABOUR LEADER."

The N.A.C. are pleased to report the steady increase in the circulation of the "Labour Leader." Its increasing importance as the Official Organ of the party, and the leading exponent of Socialism, is shown by the constant quotations from its columns in the various newspapers of all countries. Financially, it has now turned the corner, and for the year ending December 31st last, shows a profit of £149. The cost of distribution in small parcels to all parts of the kingdom severely handicaps the paper. The N.A.C. strongly appeal to the loyalty of members and branches to see that the "Labour Leader," as the official organ of the party, shall occupy its rightful position as the foremost among the Socialist periodicals of the Kingdom.

MEDICAL INSPECTION.

At the last Conference the Party voted solid in favour of a Medical Board at Whitehall, a measure which raised into prominence the question of the physical condition of the children of the Nation, and introduces a new element into their lives. This unanimous vote had an important effect on the deliberations of the Government in the matter of Medical Inspection, and no report would be faithful which ignores the splendid work done by our comrade Miss Margaret McMillan, and the influence of our Conference, Derby in regard to this question. The inspiring memorandum, since issued by the Board of Education, marks the beginning of a new era in educational matters.

It is useless to ignore the fact, however, that the success and development of every reform depends on the continuous and intelligent interest of the people. It is for the Independent Labour Party to see that the department now created does not degenerate into the spirit or the mechanism of the Poor Law Service, but remains an integral part of the National System of Education free from the taint of pauperism, and fully open to progress.

I.L.P. BUILDING SOCIETY.

In accordance with the instructions of last Conference, the question of starting a Building Society in connection with the I.L.P. was duly considered by the Council. The difficulties in the way of making such a venture a commercial success were so great that it was considered inadvisable to commence one at the present time. Unless 10,000 shares were subscribed, the Society would in no way meet the requirements of its branches. Such a share capital is beyond the present means of the Party, for the "Labour Leader," which appealed far more strongly to the needs and desires of the Party, has only succeeded in raising about one third this amount. This becomes all the more apparent when it is considered that many of the older and stronger branches have already established building companies of their own, and could not be expected to support the National Society in addition. Further, the cost of management, and the difficulties of collecting the subscriptions monthly, and of remitting them to the Head Office, would be so great as to preclude the possibility of the Society being managed economically.

Taking the circumstances altogether, the N.A.C. decided that at the present time it was wiser to leave the establishment of the society in abeyance.

We believe that the delegates will agree with us that nothing can inspire us with more hope or give us greater encouragement to prosecute our labour for Socialism than the successes of this year to which this record of work belongs.

[Signed] J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, Chairman.
 T. D. BENSON, Treasurer.
 J. KEIR HARDIE.
 PHILIP SNOWDEN.
 J. BRUCE GLASIER.
 JAMES PARKER.
 W. STEWART.
 W. WOOD.
 T. RUSSELL WILLIAMS.
 J. HOWARD.
 W. FIELD.
 W. BROCKHOUSE.
 MARGARET McMILLAN.

The National Administrative Council of the Independent Labour Party.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING 29th FEBRUARY, 1908.

LIABILITIES.			ASSETS.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
Parliamentary Fund	127	15 3½	Cash at Bank :—		
Sundry creditors.. .. .	806	10 0	Deposit Account	1262	4 4
Receipts on account of Huddersfield Conference	3	10 0	Current Account	727	5 3½
Less Expenses	2	10 0		1989	9 7½
Receipts on account of " Socialist Review "	88	0 2½	NOTE.—The Cash as above includes actual collections to March 10th, 1908.		
Less Expenses	25	12 2½	Sundry Debtors	1120	4 3½
Surplus—	62	8 0	Less provision for doubtful debts ..	25	0 0
Amount at February 28th, 1907 ..	3190	16 11½	Office Furniture and Fittings :—		
ADD Excess of Income Over expenditure for the year ending Feb. 29th, 1908 ..	549	13 6½	Amount at 28th Feb., 1907 ..	80	19 11
	3740	10 6	Purchases during year 1907-8 ..	60	5 6½
				141	5 5½
			LESS 15 % Depreciation	21	3 10
				120	1 7½
			" Labour Leader," Limited :—		
			Share account (253 fully paid £1 shares)	253	0 0
			Loan account	300	0 0
				553	0 0
			Leicester Co-operative Society		
			Share account	1	0 0
			Loan account	4	10 3
				5	10 3
			Blackburn and District Trades and Labour Council—Loan account ..		
				60	0 0
				£4738	3 9½

I have the pleasure to report that I have examined the Books and Accounts of the National Administrative Council of the Independent Labour Party for the year ending 29th February, 1908, and have found the same to be correct and sufficiently vouched. I further report that the above Balance Sheet is in my opinion, drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of affairs of the Party at the close of the year.

9, Arundel Street, Strand,
25th May, 1908.

W. HECTOR THOMSON, } Auditor.
Chartered Accountant,

Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 29th February, 1908.

EXPENDITURE.

	1906-7 £	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Salaries—F. Johnson ..	..	159	0	0	..	..	..
" " Office Staff Pro- portion ..	433	..	190	9 7	349	9 7	..
" Rent, Rates, Cleaning, Heating, Lighting ..	72	..	..	..	59	0 5	..
" Postages, Telegrams, Tele- phone ..	72	..	..	..	67	3 8	..
" Conference Expenses ..	104	..	..	..	204	11 9	..
" Printing and Stationery ..	56	..	..	..	107	9 10½	..
" Sundry Office Expenses ..	9	..	..	..	6	0 4½	..
" Depreciation on Office Fur- niture and Fittings ..	5	..	..	..	21	3 10	..
" Bank Charges ..	2	..	..	..	1	6 0	..
" Travelling Expenses, N.A.C. Meetings ..	84	..	..	..	96	10 7	..
" Delegates Expenses, Inter- national Congress ..	..	..	..	..	31	10 10	..
" International Socialist Bureau ..	15	..	..	..	14	0 0	..
" Wm. Hughes, Balance of Reception Expenses ..	..	..	..	..	4	18 6	..
" Audit Fees ..	13	..	..	..	21	0 0	..
" Special Effort Fund ' x- penses ..	37	..	..	..	42	0 6	..
" Legal Expenses ..	..	..	..	..	6	15 0	..
" Grant to Antwerp Dock Strike Fund ..	..	..	..	..	20	0 0	..
" Organising Expenses ..	448	..	..	..	1041	11 11	..
" Publication Department, Purchases and Expenses ..	2148	..	..	..	4194	6 1	..
.. Balance (Surplus) to Balance Sheet ..	2511	..	..	..	6288	18 11	..
					549	13 6½	..
					£6838	12 5½	..

INCOME.

	1906-7 £	£	s.	d.
By Affiliation Fees ..	767	..	..	..
" National Branch Subscription Interest ..	23	..	..	..
" Conference Receipts ..	30	..	..	..
" Special Effort Fund ..	100	..	..	..
" Publication Department Sales ..	2428	..	..	..
	2626	..	..	..
				1103 9 6½
				52 14 6
				69 4 4
				124 12 10
				826 8 4½
				4662 2 10½

PARLIAMENTARY FUND.

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Labour Party Fees	190	15	0			
„ „ Conference Fees and						
„ Delegates Expenses	38	10	3			
„ Parliamentary allowances :—						
„ J. R. Macdonald, M.P., P. Snowden, M.P., J. Parker, M.P., J. Keir Hardie, M.P., T. Sumnerbell, M.P., J. R. Clynes, M.P., and F. W. Jowett, M.P., 1/4/07 to 31/3/08	1470	0	0			
„ Victor Grayson, M.P., to 31/4/08	148	0	0			
Grant to Jarrow Bye-Election Fund	20	0	0	1618	0	0
„ Expenses of I.L.P. Speakers at Jarrow	8	16	2			
„ Colne Valley	28	16	2			
„ Share of Organisers' Salaries for Election Work	180	0	0			
„ Printing, Postages, Travelling, &c... .. .	14	0	0			
	10	10	9			
	2080	2	2			
„ Balance, Feb. 29th, 1908, carried to Balance Sheet	127	15	3			
	£2207	17	5			

INCOME.

	£	s.	d.
By Balance, 28th February, 1907	538	5	5
„ Parliamentary Allowances	1400	0	0
„ „ Grant refunded from Aberdeen Bye-Election Fund	25	0	0
„ Donations	244	12	0
	£2207	17	5

PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT.

EXPENDITURE.		INCOME.	
	1906-7.		
To Stock on hand, 1st March, 1907 ..	£ 123	By Sales	£ s. d. 4662 2 10½
" Salaries	..		
" Rent, Rates, etc.	..		
" Purchases, Printing, and Royalties ..	2356		
" Stationery, Carriages, Postages, Fittings, Advertising, etc.	65		
" Bad Debts, £23 10s. 2½d.; Debts Doubtful of Recovery, £25. ..	20		
Deduct :—			
Stock on hand, Feb. 29' 1908	5109 4 1		
	914 18 0		
	4194 6 1		
Surplus	467 16 9½		
	£4662 2 10½		£4662 2 10½

ORGANISING DEPARTMENT.

EXPENDITURE.

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Div. 1—To Scotland					131	10	0
Div. 2— „ Northumberl'd, Durh'm, &c		60	10	0			
„ Bishop Auckland District ..		4	10	0			
„ Cleveland District		2	10	0			
					67	10	0
Div. 3— „ Barnsley District		6	0	0			
„ Colne Valley		7	0	0			
„ Dewsbury District		6	0	0			
„ Don Valley		13	0	0			
„ Elland Division		3	0	0			
„ Halifax District		14	0	0			
„ Hull District		5	0	0			
„ Keighley Division		17	10	0			
„ Otley Division		13	10	0			
„ Pontefract and District		2	0	0			
„ Pudsey Division		10	0	0			
„ Sheffield and District		10	0	0			
„ Spen Valley		4	0	0			
„ York District		2	0	0			
					113	0	0
Div. 4— „ Belfast and District		4	14	0			
„ Cheshire		32	10	1			
„ Eccles Division		4	0	0			
„ North-East Lancashire		46	0	0			
„ North Wales District		53	0	0			
„ N.W. Lancs., Cumberland, and Westmoreland		42	10	0			
„ S.E. Lancashire		12	0	0			
					194	14	1
Div. 5— „ South Wales					182	10	0
Div. 6— „ Derbyshire		31	0	0			
„ Leicestershire		1	0	0			
„ Lincolnshire		10	0	0			
„ North Staffordshire		10	0	0			
„ South Staffordshire		32	14	2			
„ North Warwickshire		9	13	4			
„ Nottinghamshire		11	0	0			
„ Northamptonshire		12	0	0			
„ Shropshire		5	0	0			
„ Worcestershire		7	0	0			
					129	7	6
Div. 7 — „ Berks, Oxon, Hants. &c, ..		27	18	1			
„ Kent		24	16	0			
„ London (North)		19	10	0			
„ „ (West)		44	0	0			
„ Surrey and Sussex		11	8	5			
					127	12	6
„ Special Grants—Organiser's Illness					6	0	0
„ Demonstrations—Wrexham Plymouth, Bath, Sleaford					24	3	9
„ N.A.C. Divisional Members' Expenses, &c.					28	5	11
„ Insurance of Organisers					10	11	11
„ Printing and Postages					26	6	3

Total carried to In. & Expen. Account

£1041 11 11

REPORT
OF THE
Sixteenth Annual Conference
OF THE
Independent Labour Party
HELD IN
The Town Hall, Huddersfield,
April 19th, 20th, and 21st, 1908.

THE Huddersfield Branch arranged a most successful Reception for Delegates and Visitors on Saturday evening.

On Sunday three magnificent demonstrations were held. Victor Grayson, M.P., being the chief speaker at the afternoon meeting, and at the overflow meeting in the Victoria Hall in the evening, J. Bruce Glasier and H. Snell were the speakers. The Hippodrome, where the chief evening meeting was held, was crowded in every part.

Evening Meeting at the Hippodrome.

The chair was occupied by T. Russell Williams, and he was supported by J. R. Macdonald, M.P., J. Keir Hardie, M.P., Miss McMillan, Philip Snowden, M.P., and other members of the party.

The Chairman, in his opening address, said in so far as Mr. Asquith's Ministry was anxious to increase the happiness of the nation or the welfare of the people they could always rely upon the friendly disposition of the men whom the Labour Party had chosen to represent them in Parliament. He hoped their people would support the Government's Licensing Bill, if for no other reason, for exactly the same reason as in Huddersfield two or three years ago, in St. George's Square, they denounced the bill of Mr. Balfour. The bill of the present Government was an attempt to minimise the evil that had been wrought by the reactionary conduct of the late Government. Whilst the Labour members of Parliament were anxious to make the pathway of

Mr. Asquith smooth in so far as he led in the direction of reform, he was sure they would not have to hope in vain that the slightest tendency towards reaction would be met with the most strenuous and uncompromising opposition. (Cheers).

J. Keir Hardie, M.P., who was received with loud cheers, moved :—"That this great demonstration congratulates the Independent Labour Party on the magnificent success which has attended its Socialist propaganda during the past year, rejoices in the continued success of the united Labour and Socialist movement in Great Britain and Ireland, and hereby conveys its fraternal greetings to the workers of every land." The forthcoming Conference, he said, would be the largest and most representative hitherto held by the Party, and he was certain it would maintain the high tradition established at previous Conferences. The Independent Labour Party kept its Socialism unspotted from the world. He paid a tribute to its business methods, its sanity, sagacity, and common sense, and said its fighting spirit was in no way diminished. Neither in the country, nor through its members in the House of Commons, did it exist merely to keep a watchful outlook for honesty in the Liberal Government. (Laughter). If they had no more admiration to bestow on the Liberal party than that which necessity compelled them, their resources would not be very strained in bestowing it. (Laughter). The I.L.P. existed inside and outside of Parliament as a militant fighting force, not merely to urge on this or that Government to apply doses of chloroform to the workers to keep them quiet, but to educate the workers up to the point when they should form their own Government. (Cheers). The movement was in magnificent condition, and coming back after all those months of absence was like a plunge into those waters which fabled gods of old said endowed one with eternal youth. It was also a matter of rejoicing that the women's movement had made such progress during the past nine months. (Cheers). They had never sounded a false or untrue note in connection with this movement. They realised that unless they stood for justice and equality for both sexes and all races their mission would be robbed of much of its power. (Cheers). If, he proceeded, capitalism had left its slimy trail over the lives of men in all parts of the world, Socialism was going to imbue with hope and give encouragement to those who were striving for a nobler and a truer life. He was glad, therefore, that the resolution not only congratulated their movement here at home, but it sought to send in their name fraternal greetings to the workers in all lands. The I.L.P. was an organic part of the great international Socialist movement, which stood for freedom, for brotherhood, and for fraternity to a degree hitherto unknown in the history of the world. There was one feature which burned itself into the brain

more than any other he had seen or heard of in the course of his travels. He had seen unemployed engaged in relief works in such new colonies as Canada and South Africa. He had seen workers on strike in more than one part of the British dominions.

THE PLIGHT OF INDIA.

He had seen all the horrors and miseries of our industrial life reproducing themselves in these new lands, but nothing of this kind impressed him so much, or bore him down, as the helpless lives of India's starving millions. India was the brightest jewel in the crown of the British Empire. If so it was a jewel stained with the blood and the tears of the people of India. ("Shame.") The Press, Liberal and Conservative alike, with perhaps the one solitary exception of the "Manchester Guardian," was only too willing to open its columns to the malicious lies cabled home concerning himself and his sayings in India. ("Shame.") Since he had been home he had spoken in London and in his own constituency dealing with this question, and not only the Conservative Press, but such papers as the "Daily News" and "Daily Chronicle" had shut their columns rigidly against every fact he had tried to make known. ("Shame.") It was a shame. They were trying to conceal the fact that India under Liberal rule was the same as under Tory rule (hear, hear); but if he had to go to every town and village in Great Britain, the truth about India should be known. (Loud cheers). He would give them one or two facts. Lord Curzon during his Viceroyalty issued an official document in which he stated that the income of the working classes of India averaged only 26s. a year. ("Shame.") Under conditions like these they could well imagine that this great nation of 300,000,000 of people must always be very near the verge of starvation. Sir William Hunter, in his history of India, had told them that there were at least 40,000,000 of the population who were always hungry. For years past there had been millions whose only food consisted of a handful of dry rice in two days. But even this was not the worst. Thirty millions of these people were certified to have died of hunger in forty years, and for the last ten years of the century the number kept steadily increasing, and averaged 1,000,000 a year from 1890 to 1900. Upon these deaths came the plague, and the authorities could not understand why the plague seemed permanent. The reason was that the people had not strength to resist the plague. Hunger was the root from which the plague sprang. In 1901 the number of deaths from plague was 272,000, in 1902 500,000, in 1903 800,000, and in 1904 1,000,000. Was it not time someone spoke out? It was said, were not things better now than before? Most emphatically, No.

Turning to English affairs, he said this year a start would be made in the direction of old age pensions, and it would be for them to see that the start was made on proper lines. The pressure behind the House of Commons was so great that the House must go forward until every veteran of industry had a comfortable living assured him in his old age. (Cheers).

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., seconded the resolution. He said the party sometimes had its little differences with Yorkshire (laughter), but it would be a bad day for the Independent Labour Party when there were no little differences inside it. They were not a party of abject followers, but a party of men and women who were given to thinking for themselves, and for that very reason they could go to Huddersfield with the assurance that the past year was far and away the best year the party had ever had. In welcoming Mr. Hardie, Mr. Macdonald said that nobody had flung himself with greater disregard of personal consequences into the fighting line of Socialism, with the result that his health had suffered; but he was back again they hoped to continue the great work for the Party and the cause with which his name was so closely associated. (Cheers). The Independent Labour Party was a party which occupied a unique position. It was not like any other party. Its characteristic feature, as he had pointed out, was the combined ideal of Socialism with the practical demands of a sane Socialist policy. From its very beginning—from the day that it was formed at Bradford—the Independent Labour Party had told the world that it was a Socialist party.

SOCIALIST POLICY.

It had preached Socialism, and there was not a single intelligent man who had followed the course of the members of the party through the years of its existence who could persuade an intelligent audience that the party or its members had ever lowered the Socialist flag. (Hear, hear). That was one of the reasons why they had succeeded. But why should they succeed as Socialists? Simply because in the fulness of time Socialism was coming. The people had handed over their property and the raw materials and the resources of nature to be exploited by individuals and classes, who had built up the organic structure of society in their own class and personal interest. Employment, well-being, and property were all incidental to this, with the result that they had often to be sacrificed. That was individualism, capitalism and commercialism. The people were not enlightened, because the community had not recognised its responsibility to the individual. They were told that they lived in a state based upon private property. But they did not; they lived in a State based upon the fact that millions of people without private

property had to work week after week for an income that just enabled them to keep body and soul together. The liberty of private property, the great enjoyment of individual possessions, had never been experienced, and never would be experienced until society as a whole took cognisance of itself, and became conscious of its own organisation and responsibilities to the individual. That was Socialism, and Socialism consequently was not merely a mechanical organisation controlled by officials. Capitalism was bound to be merely a phase in human evolution, leading up to a true and more rational phase, and that phase was Socialism.

REPLY TO CRITICISM.

Socialism was not their idea, but the idea of nature herself. It was the imperative necessity of its own evolution imposed upon society from the beginning. Socialism was coming, and coming fast, and the only thing that Socialists could pretend to claim was that they understood the law of evolution, and were intelligently applying it to the practical problems of life. The rank and file of the party did not always agree with the Parliamentary policy which was pursued by their representatives, but whilst propaganda was excellent and essential, the movement grew in silence as well as in the openly expressed enthusiasms. It was a mistake to suppose that when they remained silent nothing was happening. Faith in Socialism was not a faith that required assurances every morning. He declined to offer any apology for the Socialist policy in Parliament, for it was a policy which was going to carry Socialism to success. It was quiet, calm, rational policy of hitting every time one could hit, and never hitting when one could only get six inches short of the object aimed at. (Laughter). Humanity was not perfect, and they had committed mistakes, but on the whole they had been faithful servants of the people from whom they came. The great problem was now not how to preach Socialism, but how to bring it about. The financial position and membership of the movement, and the public interest aroused, were such as five years ago would not have been credited within a generation. A point had been reached in national history when changes came rapidly, and now with the harvest ripening fast they returned to their work with the enthusiasm and conviction of success, convinced that the old Independent Labour Party alone was the wise, sane, and just expression of the Socialist spirit in this country. (Cheers).

The resolution was supported by Miss Margaret McMillan and Philip Snowden, M.P., and unanimously agreed to.

Monday's Proceedings.

At 10 a.m. on Monday, the delegates took their places J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P., occupied the chair, and he was supported by J. Keir Hardie, M.P., Philip Snowden, M.P., J. Parker, M.P., J. Bruce Glasier, W. Stewart, T. R. Williams, W. Wood, W. Field, H. Brockhouse, Miss M. McMillan, and Francis Johnson (Sec.) There was a large attendance of visitors in the balcony, many standing, and some were in the gallery also.

The Chairman of the Huddersfield I.L.P. welcomed the delegates in the name of the Huddersfield branch. He said the growth of Socialism in the town had been remarkable. The Red Flag had been hoisted on every possible occasion, and they would not be satisfied until they had a hall of their own in which to hold their meetings. (Applause).

Tellers were appointed, and the following were elected Standing Orders Committee:—Wm. Pickles, J. M. McLachlan (Levenshulme), Wm. Walker (Belfast), J. H. Standring (St. Helens), and J. H. Palin (Bradford).

The Chairman's Address.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD said:—Once more your Chairman's address must begin on a high note of pride. Socialism has risen like a flood in 1907, and has submerged all its ancient high-water marks. The income from affiliation fees last year has reached the splendid total of £1,103, £336 more than last year, and £626 more than the year before; in two years the affiliation fees have than doubled. The sales of literature (excluding the *Labour Leader*) have reached £4,663, compared with £2,626 in 1906 and £1,202 in 1905; whilst the gross income of the party during the year has been £7,737, £1,673 more than in 1906, and £5,800 more than in 1905.

These figures, which are accurate indications of the spread of Socialism, are music in our ears, but dreadful discords in the ears of others. To us they mean hope; to others despair. There are still many people about who regard us as Mad Mullahs leading some crusade of animalism which can be successful only by the overthrow of our ancient institutions, social organisations, and moral conscience. To very intelligent men this view of Socialism is absurd. It assumes that the results of our racial evolution are so unstable that a gust of passion or an effervescence of impatience can destroy them; it assumes that a democracy governing itself, and experiencing in itself the results of its government, can go on through stage after stage of national destruction with-

out drawing back ; it assumes that a man can walk into a fire and not discover that it burns until he is reduced to ashes.

STUPID ATTACKS.

Nine-tenths of the attacks made upon us are of this stupid character. They come from men who have never studied Socialism; who have not sufficient imagination to understand what it means, and whose one criterion of public well-being is their own class advantage. They have not even the sense to test their general principles by their own conduct. They lay down, for instance, the doctrine that the heads of families should be personally responsible for their offspring, and in their own family life they take special care to have little concern about their children, but hand them over at birth to nurses, and bundle them off to boarding schools at the earliest possible age. They profess the belief that every man should work, and that it is bad for the State if anyone gets an income without labour ; and if any attempt is made to compel themselves to work, they discover that it involves some fearful project of confiscation or spoliation. Because from 5 to 10 per cent. of our people know the benefits of private property, those opponents of ours try to make us believe that our present social system is based upon private property. They have been allowed to exploit nature, to build and run factories to amass wealth. Having done that they are satisfied. It has hardly struck them that the most absurd thing that one could see in a rich community, which pretends to have a spark of practical sense and sanity, is recurring periods of unemployment, when natural demands cease to have any economic value.

At the bottom, the problem which our opponents and ourselves are disputing about is : Is society rational ? We say it is ; they say it is not. If society is rational, it must be organised from the point of view of its total needs ; if it is not rational, it can go on as it is—a collection of economic groups organised round certain economic interests with a personal or a class centre. The result of a battle over such a point is as foregone a conclusion as is that of a conflict between an unemployed march and a police force. The rationality of society will express itself through the order of municipalisation, of nationalisation, of the absorption of parasitic interests, of the organisation of what are now personal and class interests so that they contribute to total advantage.

FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION.

That, in the abstract, is Socialism. That is the idea which the Socialist movement is a definite attempt to realise. Or, in view of current political topics, I may put it in this way : Pro-

tection is a theory that within certain political areas the operations of industrial chaos may be sheltered from chaotic operations outside. Free Trade is a theory that on the chaos itself there are imposed certain laws of economy which, if allowed to operate, would prevent the organisation of powerful anti-social combinations as a kind of temporary industrial order. Socialism is a theory that the communal organisation of industry in its various processes must put an end to the chaos. Protection is sheltered production with big brothers striving with little for the benefits of the shelter; Free Trade is open production forced to depend upon its own efficiency, which requires amongst other things, considerable reserve of irregularly employed workpeople; Socialism is organised production also forced to depend upon its own efficiency but with an infinitely greater chance of effecting economy and of regulating employment.

I for one can no more see how the realisation of this idea can be prevented than I can see how any puny device of man can stop the earth pursuing its path in the universe. It may be postponed, and I am not at all sure that we are quite free of that risk as yet, or that Socialists have sufficiently studied how the reaction can gather itself together. We speak a good deal of party discipline, but do we equally regard the discipline which the idea it embodies imposes on the party? Do we adopt our political methods and our propagandist phrases after only a careful study of the nature of the social medium through which we have to work? To understand Socialism needs much effort; to aid it, needs much more effort of the nature of sacrifice and self-repression. Emerson told us that nothing great can be done without enthusiasm: he forgot to add as a modest footnote that the historic path of enthusiasm is too frequently marked by fine-looking cisterns which hold no water.

A RATIONAL THEORY.

To me the need of the time seems to be the presentation of Socialism as a rational theory of social organisation, and the duty of the Socialist is to work out that theory into a present-day policy. Within the limits of that task there is plenty of room for enthusiasm, ample space for idealism; and the enthusiasm and idealism disciplined to express themselves and find comfort within these limits, will be far more powerful formative influences than if they were merely thoughtless and reckless. Surely the least that our Socialism demands of us is that we should discipline ourselves so as to serve it well. Reckless imagining—a disinclination to take upon ourselves the yoke of an honest inquiry, the sins and faults of the high falutin' are more objectionable in the service of Socialism than in that of any other faith.

In the fulness of time has come the Socialist movement, the child in direct line of succession of capitalism ; in the fulness of time has come the Labour Party, the child in the direct line of succession of those independent growths of a robust democracy which have marked the Parliamentary history of the nineteenth century. Turn where we will, we see the change into a new state beginning. We meet to-day in the Springtime of Nature and in a Springtime of Society. Every attempt to build up a rational system of politics which will correspond to the experience and the thought of the twentieth century is modelled on a Socialist plan ; every moral criticism on existing society ends with a constructive suggestion of a Socialist character ; every proposal made to ameliorate or end social ills presupposes the coming of the Socialist State.

THE PATH TO SOCIALISM.

In this tendency towards Socialism the function of the I.L.P. is twofold. It has to make the meaning of the tendency clear and explain its nature. It has also to aid it, to realise it, to mould society in accordance with its requirements. Therefore we must remain propagandist like John the Baptist ; we must also remain political like the Apostle Paul. We have to fulfil both missions ; and it will be a bad day for Socialism in this country if ever the two missions become separate. How well might the I.L.P. at its first meeting in Bradford have adopted as its motto the words of Engels : " Our theory is not a dogma, but the exposition of a process of evolution, and that process involves several successive phases." That has been our distinctive method and spirit. Or again, when we review the achievements of the party in building up political organisations, and in gathering together the non-Socialist forces, which, nevertheless, were by their very nature making for Socialism, are not Leibknecht's wise words called to our minds : " We have seen the necessity for emancipating ourselves from the bondage of certain catch-words, and of developing the power of the party in the direction of clear thought and brave and methodical action, instead of displaying in its phrases of revolutionary violence, which too often only serve to hide a lack of clearness and vigorous action." During these arduous years, the I.L.P. has been, comparatively speaking, small, It has been well knit together, however. We have been known personally to each other. We could, for those reasons, follow Jaurés' watchwords of Socialist success, " Method and Consistency." Now the party has grown. We have branches we can never visit, and members we shall never see. Our success has raised many giddy and enticing prospects, and has troubled us with many alluring visions of the Ideal-at-hand. But by method and consistency we have grown,

by method and consistency let us pursue our course—too wise to allow any section to force our hands, too clear-sighted to allow the opposition to determine our policy—concentrating our attention on two or three fundamentally important things like unemployment and democratic government, and in these and all other legislative proposals proving “the fitness of Socialism to serve the common good,” using the political machine always with the idea in mind that we may soon control it, careful not to allow revolutionary talk in its many forms to confuse and mislead us, scrupulously loyal to our Labour Party allegiance. That is the path to Socialism, and my prayer is that in times of proud success the I.L.P. may keep to that path with the same wisdom and fidelity as it walked along it in the days of humbler things.

J. Keir Hardie, M.P., who was loudly applauded on rising, said he was glad to move the thanks to their chairman, who was their leading intellectual force. His capacity for work filled those who knew him with something approaching amazement. His intellectual output was making the I.L.P. its policy and position known throughout the entire Socialist and Labour world.

Mr. Jos. Burgess (Bradford), briefly seconded the resolution, which was heartily agreed to.

DISCUSSION ON N.A.C. REPORT.

(See pp. 9.)

The Report of the N.A.C. was considered paragraph by paragraph.

On the question of augmenting and maintaining the Parliamentary Fund, the N.A.C. recommended, as an addition to its report, that the new Council be empowered to levy branches at the rate of rs. per year per member for this fund.

W. Hudson (Huddersfield) asked whether branches not paying would be barred out.

The Chairman: Not for 12 months.

W. J. Armstrong (Leeds) spoke against the proposal, as the money could be much better used for local purposes.

G. Madelaine (Hollinwood) said it would be wrong for Conference to vote for or against, as the matter had not been submitted to the membership.

Wilson Brook (Meltham) supported this view, and on the suggestion of J. Bruce Glasier it was decided that the matter should be postponed.

A delegate at the back of the hall complained that there was no standard of qualification for organisers.

The Chairman: Oh yes, they have to answer a long list of questions; we will send you one. (Laughter).

J. Larkin (Belfast) insinuated that some of the organisers were blacklegs.

E. Black asked if it would be in order to ask Larkin to name the blackleg organisers.

The Chairman: It is a little provocative, but we must take no notice of it.

M. T. Simm and J. Muirhead each complained of grievances in the matter of the appointment of organisers.

The Chairman: The complaints should have been made to the N.A.C., and not kept slumbering in your bosoms so long. We appoint organisers after as careful an investigation as can be made. We may make mistakes (I am inclined to think we don't), and we are always prepared to rectify them if we do make them.

F. Cresswell (Gateshead) wanted to know why the N.A.C. did not give more encouragement to the cycling section.

The Chairman: Why does not the cycling section approach us? We will consider it at the next meeting. The N.A.C. is most sympathetic to cyclists. (Laughter).

The question of wages of the staff was also raised, and on an enquiry as to whether the Clerks were Trade Unionists, W. C. Anderson (Hyde) said there was no effective clerks' union. They had to build up their organisation yet.

The Chairman: Delegates should be in honour bound not to bring these matters before the Conference without notice.

J. P. Dean (East Ham) enquired why the title of Secretary had been altered to General Secretary. It was pointed out that an Organising Secretary and a Literature Department Manager had both been appointed during the year. It was agreed to continue the title of General Secretary.

Rejection of Manuscripts.

Under the heading of literature a delegate enquired as to who was responsible for the rejection of a certain pamphlet.

The Chairman caused laughter by saying that he was not sure, but thought those who had had experience in rejecting manuscripts would agree that the Committee which did this should not be generally known. They had best blame the N.A.C., as usual, for the faults of that Committee.

Organisers.

M. T. Simm (Newcastle) asked how many organisers were employed during the summer, and how many were discharged at the end of the season.

Bruce Glasier replied that 20 were engaged during the summer, three were not re-engaged, one or two did not ask it, or found

other work, and they all understood that the appointment was only for six months.

F. Cresswell : We wrote three or four weeks since.

The Chairman : How often do you imagine the N.A.C. meets in three or four weeks ? (Laughter).

On the division of the Kingdom into seven groups for organising purposes, W. Hudson (Huddersfield), asked would the N.A.C. do nothing for Devon and Cornwall, or for Ireland, except Dublin and Belfast ?

The Chairman : For our organising purposes Devon and Cornwall are added to Wales and Ireland as a part of Lancashire. (Laughter).

J. Larkin voiced the grievances of Ireland. Why would not the N.A.C. send any speakers to Ireland ? Belfast and Dublin had applied and even got the promise of one, but he never arrived. Why had they not a permanent speaker ? He was an Irishman, unfortunately. If he had been a Scotchman he would have been on the N.A.C. This sally at the Scotch Bench provoked laughter, in which the platform joined. Continuing he said their M.P.'s were too tame ; they never made a forcible protest. They had allowed things to pass which should have been objected to by any Socialist. They seemed to be afraid of the Irish tactics, but should have obstructed everything to gain their ends.

W. Stewart said that in response to the request from Ireland last year he was sent, wisely or unwisely. As a result of that visit of a fortnight the Belfast branches increased from one to five. (Applause).

J. Hodgkinson (Lancaster), pleaded for more organisers for division four, which included Cumberland and Westmoreland, besides Cheshire, Lancashire and North Wales.

R. C. Wallhead : One branch, one organiser.

The Chairman : Division four is getting its share now, and will get its share of any increases. Your suggestion is a good one, Wallhead, but we are not yet ready.

G. S. Parsons (Kensal Rise) complained of the difficulty of getting M.P.'s to visit London branches. They were refused every time they wrote, yet when they visited the House they could get them.

The Chairman : No district in the country has been better spoken to by Socialists and Labour M.P.'s than London. (Hear, hear).

National Speakers' Campaign.

G. Thomson (Altrincham) said that at the present time it was impossible to secure a fair share of the National speakers when the branches had to make application, and the speakers them-

selves had to decide. It should not be left to the individual speakers and individual branches.

F. Welland (Liverpool) said that the N.A.C. ought to fix a regulation fee. Some of the big guns, such as Pete Curran, charged fees as if they came from Australia, and when compared with Bruce Glasier's, there was a vast difference.

Bruce Glasier said he objected to be put into competition. He was the Editor of the "Labour Leader," and did not charge any fee, only expenses.

W. H. Peck (Hyde) objected to the assertions as to speaker's charges. They mostly did a great amount of work for a small fee.

J. Duncan (Aberdeen) said that the best branches got the best men. The strong should help the weak, and the national speakers should be used to that end.

J. Keir Hardie said that the whole scheme of organisation was just developing. The policy had always been to avoid a cut and dried system, so that the organisation should be a growth, and not a creation, and they had decided to call a special meeting of the Council to consider the whole question after the experience of the last two years. He suggested the Conference should proceed to next business.

Ben Riley (Huddersfield) asked if there was any reference to the detailed work of their members in Parliament, and if so, could they be supplied with copies of the report?

The Chairman: This report has never been circulated. It has been read and treated as the chairman's address, but if they desired it could be circulated.

Colne Valley.

Sam Eastwood (Colne Valley) asked if the resolution passed at the Derby Conference last year as to Parliamentary candidates applied to applications from branches received previous to the Conference?

The Chairman: It did not apply to candidates who had been fixed before the Conference.

Sam Eastwood: Was it fair to apply that resolution to an application which had been received before the resolution was passed?

The Chairman: It would be better to discuss that as a general question.

Sam Eastwood: Under the old constitution it was possible for the I.L.P. branches in Parliamentary constituencies to meet and select candidates, and send the names to the N.A.C. This was done by the Colne Valley, but the N.A.C., after receiving the application for Victor Grayson, passed an amended constitution.

The Chairman: That is not true

Sam Eastwood : Victor Grayson's name was sent up in February, and the amended constitution was passed in April.

Chas. N. L. Shaw (Tooting) moved that the paragraph in the report be referred back, as it was not in accordance with facts that the N.A.C. "had been unable to give Grayson whole-hearted official support which he otherwise would have received." Under the constitution they had power to have given him support. They should make a special point of supporting men who were fighting as "clean Socialists" (loud applause and dissent, the balcony joining in the former).

The Chairman : Spectators in the gallery are not entitled to take part in the expressions of opinion.

Mrs. Bruce Glasier asked as a point of order if the term "clean" Socialist was in order.

Mr. Shaw said he meant by "clean" a Socialist pure and simple, and unconnected with the Trade Union alliance. He was in favour of the Trade Union alliance, but in the Colne Valley it was distinctly advisable that Victor Grayson should be run as a Socialist pure and simple. The Independent Labour Party was essentially a Socialist body, and the N.A.C. should be able to meet local and other circumstances. If ever such an exceptional case existed it did in Colne Valley, where Victor Grayson was the idol of the people. Colne Valley did everything possible to regularise the candidature, and anything short of that rested upon their shoulders. (Applause). Colne Valley marked a new epoch (cheers, dissent, and calls of time). Grayson won the Colne Valley, and if he had lost he would still have considered that the N.A.C. action was wrong. The N.A.C. should have supported Grayson as a Socialist candidate, as it could easily have done under the constitution.

The Rev. W. B. Graham (Holmfirth) said that he took a prominent part in the election, and was kicked out of his curacy in consequence, and he was willing to be kicked out of ten curacies for it. (Applause). He was in favour of the Labour alliance, and did not want to see it broken ; if it was broken it was because the N.A.C. had made it too rigid. He wanted sufficient elasticity to prevent any breakage.

Sam Eastwood : Was Grayson's name ever submitted to the Labour party ? If not, why not ? (Applause).

Russell Smart (Southport) asked for a statement from the N.A.C. on the question, also for the production of the correspondence.

The Chairman : The N.A.C. statement is on the paper in front of you ; if that statement has to be supported owing to any reply, it will be done. The N.A.C. has a resolution to submit, but before that is done the Conference should know what is to be said in reply to the N.A.C. statement. If that statement is refused it is a censure on the N.A.C. The statement does not

require to be supplemented, but a reply from those who wished to move the matter back should be given.

Sam Eastwood said he totally objected to that method of procedure. If the matter had been fairly discussed the difficulty would not have arisen. It was raised to affect Grayson's case. After the Colne Valley election a statement was submitted to the branches by the N.A.C., and as it was considered unfair, Colne Valley circularised a reply, and it was for the N.A.C. to deal with that circular. (Applause).

Herman Barker (New Mill) said he had great pleasure in supporting the last speaker. It was time the matter was dragged into the open. They wanted cleansing of the dry rot, and a clearing out of the Conservative cobwebs which had accumulated.

C. F. Douthwaite (Bredbury) supported the resolution. Having read both circulars, they were of the opinion that the N.A.C. should reply. Why was the candidature out of order? It was asserted, but there was no proof. How long had the negotiations been proceeding before the Conference, and what candidates were offered to Colne Valley in preference to Grayson? Why was Grayson impossible? He was clearly in line with the constitution and the N.A.C. could have supported him if they had desired it. In their unwisdom they passed a resolution which was sprung upon them at Derby, but even after that they could have supported Grayson if they so desired. As a worker in the constituency he denied that the candidature did not correspond with the conditions. Everywhere in the constituency they were expecting the big guns, but they did not come. What would the Conference have thought if the election had been lost? The Colne Valley candidature and win did more for Socialism than many years had done. (Loud applause). It focussed the attention of the country, and brought on the anti-Socialist campaign; and it was in the eyes of the Socialists the first real Socialist fight. (Time). If Colne Valley had lost, the responsibility would have been on the N.A.C. Whether Grayson was the candidate of the I.L.P. or Labour Party, so long as he worked on independent lines everything should have been done to return him to the House. (Applause and cries of time).

A Delegate: Can we have a time limit of an hour and a-half?

Russell Smart said he was not satisfied with the reply of the chairman, which did not give the information they had a right to expect, and they were told that the referring back of the paragraphs would amount to a vote of censure on the N.A.C. It was the general feeling of the Conference that a measure of censure was due to the N.A.C., but they wanted more knowledge, and he therefore moved the adjournment of the debate on that question until the afternoon, and he would ask the N.A.C. to then open the debate by giving the whole or a resumé of the correspondence, so that they might know whether to censure the

head officials of the party or pass the paragraphs in the form given.

F. Henderson (Norwich) said there must be other reasons besides those given, in the minds of those who were unable to support Grayson, and the Conference should have before it those other considerations. He seconded the motion for adjournment.

By 239 votes to 195 the discussion was adjourned.

Branches to find Funds before Candidates.

On the recommendation that branches should have returning officer's fee in hand before they asked for the endorsement of their candidate by the N.A.C., one delegate objected that all but the wealthy branches would be barred, and he moved as an amendment that the recommendation be referred back.

H. Dean (Manchester City) seconded.

The Chairman: This was discussed yesterday. It was not out of order, but it is wasting time, and no good purpose is served.

Edgar Whiteley (Huddersfield) supported the recommendation of the N.A.C., that at least the returning officer's fees should be guaranteed by the branches in future. It had been one of the means of building up the movement in Huddersfield. In 1893 Russell Smart asked for a certain number of signatures and a certain sum of money before he would agree to stand. If the stipulation was laid down by the N.A.C., it would compel the branches to organise, and through their pockets they would get to the people. The amendment was lost.

County Council Representation.

Dennis Hardaker (Brighouse) said it had been carried that some financial assistance should be given to County Council members, but the applications for support had been politely refused. The West Riding was a very scattered area, and included 19 Parliamentary divisions, besides the county boroughs, and the members should not be supported solely by their own locality.

T. Russell Williams said that the Colne Valley Federation had been in existence 13 or 14 years, and had adopted that attitude, and the same applied to a great many others.

Edgar Whiteley thought it would be better if a conference of elected persons was held at some other time than the annual conference.

Monday Afternoon's Proceedings.

DISCUSSION ON COLNE VALLEY RESUMED.

H. Russell Smart (Southport) claimed, as a mover of the adjournment, the right to continue the debate. The Conference was not passing a vote of censure upon the N.A.C., but it felt it had not the information at its disposal in regard to this matter which ought to have been presented. The adjournment was a gentle hint to the N.A.C. that they had other information besides that given in the report, and he hoped they would either give this or voluntarily withdraw the whole page of the report which related to the Colne Valley, otherwise the Conference would have to accept the position the chairman had forced them into, and vote, recognising that it was equivalent to a vote of censure on the N.A.C. He asked the chairman to give a more complete statement of how this unfortunate misunderstanding arose, and where the Colne Valley was out of order.

Philip Snowden, M.P., spoke for the N.A.C., and read the correspondence which had passed between that body and Colne Valley Labour League in reference to Grayson's candidature. He said that neither he, nor any other member of that Council, had any desire to hide or conceal anything. The negotiations were protracted, the first letter being dated April, 1906, which was 15 months before the date of the election, when there was little reason to anticipate any urgency in the matter. A great deal had been made by Mr. Shaw of the fact that Mr. Grayson was a Socialist candidate, as if his candidature was in that respect something quite different from the candidature of every other member of the I.L.P. But the first letter from the Colne Valley Labour League stated that the members were of opinion that it would be wise to run a "Labour candidate," and a number of names were subsequently before the League, which, with the exception of one, were either on the Labour Party or the I.L.P. official list. On May 6th, the Secretary wrote that the League was calling a conference of societies, trade unions, etc., with reference to the candidature, and in reply to a question on that point, the Secretary of the N.A.C. replied, on May 21st, that there was no doubt whatever that the N.A.C. were desirous of seeing Colne Valley fought. They heard nothing more from the League for nearly twelve months. So up to now the N.A.C. could not be charged with any delay in endorsing the candidature, because no candidate had yet been selected. On May 5th, 1907, the Secretary of the League wrote, mentioning two names, of which Mr. Grayson's was one. The secretary of the N.A.C. replied that there was already a long list of I.L.P. candidates

approved of by the Labour Party, and he was afraid that the Council would not be inclined to make any additions. The N.A.C. were subsequently asked whether they would approve of the adoption of Mr. Grayson, and whether they were prepared to contribute to the expense of the election. Mr. James Howard and the speaker were sent down to the constituency as a deputation to put forward the N.A.C. position with regard to combined trades union and I.L.P. action. The reason of this was that there had been an informality in the calling of the conference, at which Mr. Grayson was finally selected. The local branches of trade unions had not been invited to the conference, which had been a conference of the I.L.P. branches only, and the N.A.C. recognised that this informality would prevent the candidature receiving the endorsement of the National Labour Party.

Continuing, he read the deputation's report, which was to the effect that no name on the official list would be acceptable, and that the branches were determined on Grayson, and recommending that in the circumstances the N.A.C. should try to meet the branches in their desire. Between then and the vacancy occurring, there had been no meeting of the N.A.C.—("Shame")—and it was considered that the matter was not of sufficient urgency, to warrant a special meeting for the purpose. What could the N.A.C. do? Mr. Shaw had said that the N.A.C. had power to endorse Mr. Grayson's candidature by suspending clause 5 of Section 6 of the Constitution. But the last clause of the same section said that the candidate must be selected in such a way as the N.A.C. determined, and that he must run his election in accordance with the principles and policy of the party. What was the policy of the I.L.P. in regard to the promotion of its candidates? The answer to that question was in the change made at Derby last year, when it was agreed that the following clause should come into force from the date of Conference, viz., "That candidates must be endorsed by a conference of all the local associations affiliated to the Labour Party." That had not been done in this case. Finally, Mr. Grayson wrote saying that if he could not have the endorsement of the Labour Party he would do without it. (Hear, hear, and applause). Yes; but that was after he had done everything to get it. Up to the election the desire of the Colne Valley people was that Mr. Grayson should run as a Labour candidate, under the combined constitution of the I.L.P. and the National Labour Party. Further, Mr. Grayson wrote him a letter at the time of the election, the greater part of which was an appeal that something should be done to regularise his candidature. What became, then, of all this talk about Mr. Grayson being the only Socialist candidate? What became of all this talk about the only "clean" Socialist? What became of Mr. Shaw's statement that Mr. Grayson wished to stand as a Socialist candidate, and that the Colne Valley Labour League

considered it to be distinctly advisable that he should run as a Socialist candidate? It was easy to be wise after the event, and to take advantage of circumstances which turned out to be favourable. That was what had been done in the case of the Colne Valley election. Not until the informality which made it impossible to regularise Mr. Grayson's candidature was there the least desire on the part of the League that it should be in any way different from the candidature of any other I.L.P. nominee. Moreover, he had seen the election addresses of many other Labour candidates, and he ventured to say that there was not one of them which was not as outspoken a declaration for Socialism as Mr. Grayson's. ("Oh, oh!") Mr. Grayson made no reference whatever to Socialism in his address, except to describe himself as a Labour and Socialist candidate. In conclusion, the speaker claimed that the N.A.C. did the best they possibly could in the matter, but, as one who took part in the election, he was prepared to admit there was a certain amount of blame to both sides in this dispute. If they recognised that in a spirit of toleration and comradeship it would be the best way of bringing the dispute to an end. (Applause).

Sam Eastwood, secretary of the Colne Valley Labour League, replied. He contended that, up to a certain point, the branch had done everything a branch could reasonably be expected to do to meet the wishes of the N.A.C. The application to have Mr. Grayson put on the list of Labour candidates as candidate for the Colne Valley was actually made before the Derby Conference, and any resolution passed at the Derby Conference could not possibly affect this case. (Hear, hear.) The N.A.C. had not given the League the assistance they could have done, and the reason seemed to be that they desired to put someone else in the place of Mr. Grayson. They had plenty of time, and only one conclusion could be arrived at, and that was that the N.A.C. were not favourably inclined to Mr. Grayson's candidature. ("No, no.") Members said "No, no," but that was in the face of facts. Members of the N.A.C. had stated that they were against contesting the constituency, and those statements were in writing, and could be produced if necessary. Had the N.A.C. given the League some information a week or two sooner, they would have been able to do all that was required. As to whether Mr. Grayson stood as a Socialist or not, the first paragraph of his address said, "I ask for your suffrages as a Labour and Socialist candidate."

During the foregoing speech several attempts were made by delegates to move the previous question, but the chairman refused to take the resolution.

Edgar Whiteley (Huddersfield) who acted as Grayson's election agent, also replied to Philip Snowden. He emphasised the fact that Grayson's name was submitted prior to the Derby Conference, and that the position in Colne Valley was not affected

by it. The Colne Valley Labour League, which was the largest, and oldest I.L.P. organisation in the movement, adopted every means of conforming to the regulations laid down in the constitution of the party, and they were not prepared to admit the informality. He complained that he asked in vain I.L.P. members of Parliament to speak for Grayson in the contest, and asked whether the I.L.P. members should support I.L.P. candidates in the future. Bearing in mind that they had a similar experience in Huddersfield at the General Election of 1906, when Mr. Russell Williams' candidature was not at first acceptable to the N.A.C., he hoped this sort of thing was not going to happen every few years. He suggested that in all cases the N.A.C. ought to give its decision, either to endorse a candidate, or otherwise within three months of the application being made.

Victor Grayson. M.P., rose amid disorder and cries of "Vote, vote."

The Chairman called for order, observing "Undoubtedly we have got to hear Mr. Grayson."

Mr. Grayson, alluding to the impatience displayed by the delegates, said that unless some time was given, and that in a tolerant spirit, to the question of the relation to central bodies to candidates in the constituencies, the matter would waste the time of conferences to a still greater extent. (Hear, hear.) Any innuendo that he was anywhere near the level of the average Labour candidate, either so far as his election address or his subsequent speeches were concerned, he regarded as insinuations or misunderstandings almost approaching to insults. (Applause and cries of "Oh!") From the very first moment he came forward in the constituency he announced that any conditions of candidature would be distasteful to him which did not allow him to stand as an out-and-out Socialist. There had been no water mixed with the milk. (Applause). Still, he was not born with a congenital tendency to revolution, and if the N.A.C. had seen their way to do what the Colne Valley League were insistently pressing them to do for two years, there would have been no trouble. The very first day he was in the House of Commons, Arthur Henderson asked him if he could blame the Labour Party for the position, seeing that they had never been asked by the N.A.C. to endorse his (Grayson's) candidature. With regard to the prior claims of others, during the two years negotiations were proceeding, he (the speaker) wrote letter after letter saying, "Kindly send me your list, and if there is a name I feel I can defer to, I will defer it with the utmost pleasure." He was treated shabbily, and the Colne Valley Labour League was treated shabbily. Mr. Snowden came into the constituency for two nights, and that was all the support they received officially. He had never said one word against the Labour alliance. He had blessed the alliance, and he believed in it, but when he joined the I.L.P.,

and gave his personal enthusiasm to the alliance, he stipulated that he should retain his identity as a Socialist, and he wished the I.L.P. members of Parliament to retain their identity as Socialists sufficiently to help the candidates who were standing on that basis. (Hear, hear.) He had no personal animosity against individuals, but what the N.A.C. was suffering from was the inevitable disease of all central bodies that were allowed to develop into caucuses, and he thought that by sending this part of the report back, and so censuring the N.A.C., the Conference would be adopting the surest possible means of safeguarding against any repetition of those miserable and shabby proceedings in the future.

W. C. Anderson desired to make an explanation as his name had been introduced into the discussion. Mr. Eastwood said he might throw an interesting side-light on the matter. The facts of the case as they related to him were that just at the time he received the letter from the Colne Valley Labour League with regard to his name going forward with Mr. Grayson's to a ballot of the members, his future was somewhat uncertain. That was the reason he delayed his reply, and when the League wrote pressing him for an immediate decision, he had no option but to withdraw his name. It was quite unfair and quite untrue for any suggestion to be made that his decision was influenced in any way by any one or by any circumstance other than those he had named.

T. Russell Williams said he also desired to make a personal explanation. He went down to Huddersfield to interview the Chairman of the Labour League and the agent, and the opinion was expressed at the interview that the party in the Colne Valley was not anxious to secure the Labour Party's support. That was what he duly reported to the N.A.C.

J. Keir Hardie, M.P., said he wanted to make two points clear. Mr. Eastwood seemed to think the N.A.C. had some sinister motive in suggesting that there were candidates on the list with prior claims to Mr. Grayson. When it was remembered that Mr. Grayson's work in the movement, valuable as it had been, was a matter of a very few years, and that there were men like Mr. Joseph Burgess, to mention only one, who had given twenty years at least to the service of the movement, it would be admitted that there was some reason for the statement. There was neither anger nor bias against Mr. Grayson, but simply a desire that men who had grown grey in the movement should not feel that they were put aside to make room for younger men. At the close of the last General Election the National Labour Party invited the affiliated organisations to send in names of possible candidates.

The N.A.C. did not select the I.L.P. names on their own initiative, but circularised the branches, inviting them to make

suggestions. A number of names were sent in, but Mr. Grayson's was not amongst them. Ten names were selected from the list, and sent in to the Labour party. Having sent those names in, it would have been a strange proceeding for the party at once to have added another to the list. There was never any bias or personal feeling against Mr. Grayson, and never any want of appreciation occupied by the Colne Valley. If the Colne Valley comrades had told the N.A.C. that they wanted to run a Socialist candidate apart from the Labour party, it was his personal opinion that as a matter of certainty the N.A.C. would have agreed, and that the candidature would have been endorsed. But that position was never put to the N.A.C., and the situation developed without malice prepense, or without anyone knowing where it was drifting. The insinuation that the N.A.C. deliberately engineered the resolution at the Derby Conference in order to thwart Mr. Grayson's progress, was unworthy of the Conference. The N.A.C. had its defects, of course, but it was not accustomed to use underhand methods. The whole thing arose out of one of those mutual misunderstandings which, in the best-managed organisations, were bound to occur sometimes, but the insinuation that the N.A.C. were against Socialist candidates, and against Mr. Grayson because he was a Socialist, was one that he was sorry to hear made at an I.L.P. Conference. (Hear, hear).

The amendment to refer back the section of the report dealing with the Colne Valley election was defeated on a card vote by 336 to 104.

J. Larkin (Belfast): Will you delete the votes of the two members of the N.A.C. who voted in favour of their own actions? (Laughter).

The Chairman said that on a card vote members voted for their branches and not for themselves.

Philip Snowden, M.P., on behalf of the N.A.C., then moved the following resolution, as recommended by the Standing Orders Committee:—

That this Conference is of the opinion that during the remainder of the present Parliament Mr. Grayson ought to bear the same relationship to the Labour Party, except in the case of his being placed upon the Parliamentary fund.

Mr. Snowden, in explaining the effect of the resolution, said that if it was adopted, Mr. Grayson would occupy a similar position to that of Mr. Taylor, who was paid by the Durham Miners' Association, and on that account had not signed the constitution; but who was in the same position as the other members of the party in regard to the acceptance of its whips and other matters. Mr. Grayson would generally co-operate with the Labour Party, but his maintenance would have to be provided by the I.L.P.

T. Russell Williams seconded.

Harris Hoyle (Colne Valley) moved, as an amendment, 'That, in the opinion of this Conference, during the present Parliament Mr. Grayson's position should remain as at present.'

W. Hudson (Huddersfield) seconded.

Victor Grayson, M.P., said that, returned under the conditions that he was, he could not possibly sign the constitution of the Labour Party under any circumstances. He esteemed it a pearl of the greatest price that they should have independent Socialism represented in the House of Commons, instructed by the Conference and he could not accept any other conditions.

Rev. R. W. Cummings (Withernsea) said the conference would make a mistake if they tied down the Colne Valley in any way proposed. It would be very deplorable indeed if they did anything to tempt the Colne Valley to secede from the I.L.P. (Applause).

J. Larkin (Belfast) said he would not sink his Socialism inside the Labour Party and knuckle down; he would sooner throw up his own union. Grayson was following in the steps of Keir Hardie, and if he (the speaker) thought that Grayson would accept the regulations laid down in this rule, he would not get a penny of his money for his maintenance. If they were Socialists let them say so, but if they were only Labour people, let them go into the Labour Party. "Socialists for Grayson," concluded the speaker, "the remainder for yourselves." (Laughter).

T. Richardson (Usworth) emphatically protested against imputations being levelled against every other Labour member. It had been suggested in plain and vulgar speech that there was only one clean, bona-fide Socialist member of Parliament. He asked if Mr. Grayson's last speech did not show it. ("No.") They, as a political party, would have to insist on enforcing discipline and good government. He asked the conference to resent the insinuations that had been made.

W. Peacock (Gateshead) asked what the Colne Valley people were fighting for. ("Socialism.") If what the N.A.C. was offering Keir Hardie was good enough for him, it was good enough for Grayson, and for anyone else. He asked them to forget this little incident, and begin afresh in the interests of Socialism.

J. Keir Hardie, M.P., said Mr. Grayson had said he objected to sign the constitution of the Labour Party.

Victor Grayson, M.P.: Under the circumstances of my election.

J. Keir Hardie, M.P., said the resolution had been specially framed so as to exclude the necessity of Mr. Grayson having to sign the constitution. He would merely receive the party whips, and take part in the party's consultations.

Victor Grayson, said that was not what the resolution conveyed to him.

Keir Hardie, continuing, said evidently Mr. Cummings did not know Colne Valley ; it was not going to secede. With regard to what Larkin had said in reference to himself and West Ham in 1892, the circumstances were entirely different from those at present under discussion. The greatest thing to-day was to preserve unity. There was no restriction or restraint with the Labour Party, and personally he had emphasised his Socialism more in his official position with the party. What had Mr. Grayson done in the House of Commons that other Labour members had not done ?

Victor Grayson said that if he understood Mr. Hardie rightly, that he could join the Labour Party without signing its constitution, he had much pleasure in withdrawing his opposition. (Applause).

The amendment was then withdrawn, and the resolution adopted unanimously.

The adoption of the N.A.C. Report as a whole was then put and carried unanimously.

GREETINGS.

On the recommendation of the Standing Orders Committee, it was decided to send telegrams expressing goodwill to the Labour and Socialist candidates at Dewsbury and N.W. Manchester—Ben Turner and Dan Irving.

G. Hubbard (Leicester) moved, as an amendment, that Irving's name be deleted. This was seconded, but only a few hands were held up for the amendment, and the resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority.

The Conference passed a vote of sympathy with Miss Mary Macarthur (Editor of *The Woman Worker*), who was to have been a delegate, in her illness.

Greetings by telegram were received from the National Union of Shop Assistants and the Social Democratic Party and ordered to be acknowledged. It was resolved to send fraternal greetings to the National Union of Teachers, and a reply was cordially received. Mr. W. R. Trotter, representative of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, wrote regretting inability to be present.

The Glasgow and District Socialist Sunday School Union and the London S.S.S.U. both sent fraternal greetings. Telegrams of greeting were received from 1200 Clarionettes assembled at Shrewsbury, and from Pete Curran, M.P. Miss Macarthur and Ben Turner wired in reply to telegrams sent them.

A resolution of protest against the vindictive sentences passed at Manchester upon Messrs. Smith, Batty, Brown and Thomson, and asking I.L.P. Members of Parliament to use their best efforts to get the sentences reduced was also agreed to, the Chairman remarking that the matter was receiving attention.

FINANCE.

The Financial Statements and Balance Sheet were then considered and adopted subject to Auditor's report. The following letter from the Treasurer was read by the Chairman :—

LAUSANNE, APRIL 16, 1908.

MY DEAR MACDONALD,

Will you kindly convey to the Conference my keen disappointment at not being present at Huddersfield this year, and taking part in the general jubilation which will follow the most successful year the I.L.P. has yet seen. But fate and my constitution have willed it otherwise.

I should like, whilst writing, to congratulate the Conference on our success in every department. In my special department, that of finances, it has been a year of solid progress. I feel that to spend £1,080 on organising, and to add £600 to the assets of the party at the same time and without turning a hair, is a feat to be proud of. I know also the moral effect of such an achievement will be even more stimulating to the party than the £1,080 itself has been.

There is one item in the balance sheet to which I should like to draw attention, and that is the sundry debtors—£1109. It is not a large item considering the number of branch accounts we have, but now that the literature department is separate from the general work, a stricter eye can be kept on these accounts, and I should like to see them considerably reduced. With this item in our own bank we should be in a position to finance five more I.L.P. Candidatures at the General Election. I hope, therefore, the branches will co-operate with the office and remit early and often.

In raising over £1,000 for the affiliation fees, we have broken the record this year. The present year will, however, see another record broken, for before the end of the summer campaign we shall have covered our country with 1,000 branches of the I.L.P.; and from a thousand centres of light and leading, each with the Red Flag flying high, the Socialist creed will go forth conquering and to conquer.

With all good wishes for a successful Conference, from

Yours fraternally,

T. D. BENSON.

The reading of Mr. Benson's letter was received with cheers.

A PAMPHLET REPUDIATED.

Mrs. Katherine B. Glasier drew the attention of the Conference to an alleged Socialist pamphlet, entitled, "Christ, the Enemy of the Human Race," which was being sold outside the Hall.

The Chairman said the pamphlet (which had already been repudiated at the S.D.P. Conference) had absolutely nothing to do with the I.L.P., and he knew the feelings of the Conference sufficiently well to say that much of what the pamphlet contained was thoroughly repugnant to them. (Applause).

Tuesday's Proceedings.

When J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P. took the chair there was a full attendance of delegates, and the balcony was well filled. The Chairman said there was an appeal for members to go to Dewsbury, which he understood was a suburb of Huddersfield, so there would be no difficulty in getting there. They wanted every man who could go immediately after the Conference and stay all day on Wednesday and Thursday. Dewsbury could use every man jack of them, and in that case man jack included women. (Laughter).

The report of the Agenda Committee was submitted, and after amendment, adopted as follows:—

In accordance with the resolution passed at the Conference in 1903 and sustained at each Conference since, the N.A.C. appointed a committee "to revise and classify the resolutions sent in by branches and to place resolutions dealing with important matters on the Agenda."

The Committee this year consisted of J. Bruce Glasier, J. Badlay (Leeds), W. Leach (Bradford), B. Riley (Huddersfield), and T. Russell Williams, who was, however, unable to be present at the meeting.

We have carefully considered the resolutions and amendments sent in by branches, and have selected those resolutions which, in our view, raise clear and definite issues. To those other resolutions or amendments that definitely challenge the foregoing we have prefixed the word "amendment" and recommend that they be put as amendments.

When, on a vote being taken, either the resolution or the amendment dealing with any subject is carried, any further amendment dealing with the same subject will be put in turn against the successful resolution or amendment.

In several instances we have incorporated parts of one resolution in another. We have also added or altered words or phrases where necessary to make the resolutions more full and explicit. Where several branches have sent in what is practically the same resolution we have printed one and attached the names

of the branches. The delegates of these branches should arrange among themselves as to the mover and seconder of the one resolution.

The resolutions and amendments upon which the composite resolutions are based have not been printed, nor have some other resolutions which were ostensibly out of order at a general Conference like ours.

The resolutions dealing with the Constitution and Rules of the party have been excluded, as they were mainly embodied in resolutions and amendments to be dealt with at the private Conference on Sunday.

WE RECOMMEND THAT ONLY THE RESOLUTIONS PRINTED BE DISCUSSED.

We have, as instructed, placed some fresh resolutions on the Agenda dealing with matters which we think ought to receive the attention of the Conference. These resolutions are not put in as embodying the personal view of the Committee, but simply as statements or proposals for the Conference to consider.

The delegate of any branches whose resolution or amendments sent in at the proper time, and not appearing on this agenda, to have power to appeal to the Standing Orders Committee, who shall consider the question and recommend what action should be taken. A copy of the first agenda containing all the original resolutions will be supplied to all delegates.

The resolutions of Instructions to N.A.C. have, with one exception, been placed at the end, so that should there not be time for consideration, the new N.A.C. may keep them in view.

We have arranged the agenda so as to distribute the matters of public interest over both days. We suggest that after the Chairman's address and the N.A.C. report has been considered, the time-table submitted be adhered to.

The Conference then proceeded to discuss the resolutions sent in.

THE RIGHT TO WORK.

The first resolution submitted was moved by J. Smith (Byker).

That this Conference emphatically re-affirms its belief in the principle of the Right to Work, and the corresponding responsibility of the community to afford to all the opportunity to work.

It also pledges itself to support the Parliamentary Labour Party by all means in its power to secure the re-introduction of the Unemployment Bill, and further expresses the opinion that the Labour Party should resolutely utilise every opportunity of pressing the principle of the Bill upon the attention of Parliament, until it becomes the law of the land.

It determines to maintain its militant attitude, and strongly urges the co-operation of members of public bodies to secure work

for the unemployed, and press forward the final solution of the problem.—Byker, Blackpool, Kidderminster, Kirkdale, New Marske, North Salford, Everton, Halifax, Middlesbro', Skelton.

He pointed out that in Newcastle 38 per cent., and in Manchester 49 per cent. of the people who offered themselves for enlistment were physically unfit. It was strange that we, who had a greater wealth producing capacity than any other country, should have a stream of men and women struggling forwork.

The Rev. W. B. Graham seconded, and said that from the unemployment fund not a penny had been given to unemployed women. (Cries of "No, no.") So he was told, but he asked that the Conference should bring pressure to bear on the Government to secure equitable treatment for women.

Mrs. Moore (Dulwich) said it was true that not a penny had been given to the women. The streets were filled with idle labourers, men and women with stomachs empty and families starving, whilst land went out of cultivation. The land by right belonged to the people. Men and women must have land to provide food or they would die. Men should be able to grow what they ate, and eat what they grew. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Geo. Lansbury (Poplar) said they must give the devil his due. Even the President of the Local Government Board, who they did not agree with—they must tell the truth about him—had granted money to the women's workrooms. They were in danger of forgetting that their primary duty was to prevent the manufacture of unemployment. In view of other things having to be considered in the days to come, he begged the Conference to remember that they should hold in view, instead of the mere loaning of work, the better organisation of industry. In Lancashire and Yorkshire there was the question of boy and girl labour. The boys and girls, instead of being sent to the factory, should be properly trained. They should not tolerate men and women being used a few hours and then tossed aside. It was the bad organisation of industry that caused all the evils.

W. H. Peck (Hyde) said that thousands of the sons and daughters of the country were unemployed, and if their members of Parliament would stop the clock until the question was settled rightly, they could soon attain their ends. Let them follow the actions of the Irish party, block the bills, and force the discussion of the question.

C. A. Glyde (Bradford) said that the Bradford Distress Committee had had experience of the Act. The Government voted £200,000 to the President of the Local Government Board to provide work for the unemployed, and if the whole sum had been used it would only have found 8s worth of work for each workless man. The majority of the Distress Committees did not want to find work for the unemployed. They belonged to the capitalist

class, and in Bradford they voted the Socialists down in every case. During the last and the previous winter, investigators had been sent to the homes of the unemployed five times, and 25 questions had been asked on each occasion. They had to answer as many questions as a bank manager. (Laughter). They had spent £80 on administration, and they had found work for five out of 1,500 men. The Bradford opposition said that no moderate Trades Unionist would support the Bill. There must be no moderate members of the Bradford Trades Council, as 13 votes were cast in favour of Mr. MacDonald's Bill. (Applause).

W. Wood said that every distress committee was faced with the fact that under present conditions it was impossible to employ all desirous of getting it. Previous to the construction of Society on a sounder basis the unemployed should be employed on national work.

Russell Smart wanted to congratulate the chairman and the Labour Party on having for the first time in British Legislation such a measure as the Unemployed Bill, and wished to traverse the view put forward by Lansbury that the Bill was a palliative. He was not there to put forward any palliative, and he did not want any measures to be introduced to make the people's awful conditions tolerable. He looked to the Unemployed Bill as a transformation which would render unemployment unnecessary. The Bill, when passed, would render unemployment crises less and less frequent. He wanted to pledge the party to make the question a cardinal principle. If capitalism could not provide a man work to keep him from starvation let it collapse. The right to work would establish industrial and economic freedom. Clause 3 would give the right to live. The Bill would prevent the production of unemployment. It gave the right to demand employment at a minimum wage, and workmen would not ask for less wages from the private employer than they could get from the community, so better bargains could be made with the employers. The capitalists would have to do what the workers had to do with the soldiers. The standing army would have to be provided with rations, and the unemployed Bill would make the capitalists do the same for the army of unemployed.

P. G. Stewart (Glasgow), drew attention to the measure of success which had been achieved by the Glasgow Corporation in the relief of the unemployed. "How have we done it?" he asked. "By putting aside the Local Government Board altogether. We don't worry about the Local Government Board." 1,300 were provided with work in Glasgow, and they were getting 12s. a week and two square meals a day. It was the first gleam of sunshine they had seen with the unemployed. Previously they had been digging holes and filling them up again. They had 600 acres of bogland, and they were doing useful work digging up land, and producing food for themselves and families. They

had found the capitalists not so bloodthirsty as Glyde suggested. The two meals cost 8d. per day. Next winter would be worse than last. There would be 35,000 unemployed. Six or seven thousand skilled men registered themselves who would previously have been ashamed to register themselves as unemployed. He was proud of the Labour Party. The Bill was one of the greatest things they ever did.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

SCHOOL BUILDINGS.

That this Conference deplores the fact that after nearly 40 years of compulsory education there should be, in spite of laws and code regulations, so many unsuitable and insanitary school buildings. It condemns the apathy on the part of many Education Authorities and Committees to carry out those laws and regulations, and the neglect on the part of the Board of Education to strictly enforce them, and it calls upon the Government to display more concern for the health and welfare of the children by insisting upon the immediate provision of suitable schools wherever such do not already exist.—Urmston.

W. Coates (North Salford) moved the above. He said in older schools there was only ventilation from the windows. When those schools were built, believers in ventilation were called cranks, and children were often seated in aerial sewage, or else exposed to draughts.

Miss Margaret McMillan seconded. The matter was of immediate and urgent importance. Medical inspection of school children had been part of the law of the land, but the Act, as it stood, was wholly inoperative just in the places where it was most needed. They had secured medical examination, and the next step was treatment, which could not be got without cash, and there was provision in existence which would make medical examination a real fact and a great boon to the people of the country. School surgeries were needed, where the children could have treatment. They suffered from groups of diseases which ravaged the lives of children, diseases of the throat and ear which sent children to the hospitals of London in streams, but the doctors did not want to treat them because they brought no "kudos" to the hospital. As homes and hospitals were not available, school surgeries were necessary. One million pounds were needed if this was done for the benefit of the children. The question of ventilation and feeding would be duly considered to save the heavy medical cost. In future conferences they should not waste time on detailed reforms, but press to the front the larger measures. It depended largely on the Labour Party to make of practical value the great

step which had been taken in the order for children to be medically examined.

J. Fox (Gloucester) said that he had inspected professionally thousands of school children, and he heartily supported Miss McMillan's view.

Agreed.

PROVISION OF MEALS FOR CHILDREN.

J. Smith (Byker) moved, and J. Spencer (Fulham) seconded,

That the Education (Provision of Meals) Act should be amended so as to secure (1) The abolition of the limit to the amount of rate levied for such purpose; (2) That the Act be made compulsory upon all education authorities.—Byker, Fulham.

J. McLachlan (Manchester) pleaded for the liberation of the District Councils from their subjection to those petrified anachronisms known as County Councils. (Laughter). The feeding of children was about the last thing the Council County thought about. Before a local authority could take advantage of the Rating Provisions of the Act for the purpose of providing meals it had to be proved that no charitable funds were available, and when it had proved that it was told to go and find some.

An amendment from Lowestoft "that 2d. in the £ should come from the localities, and the rest from the National Exchequer," was moved by A. Halliday.

J. H. Palin (Bradford) described this as a piffling amendment, not worthy of the Conference. Education should be a national charge.

The amendment was defeated.

Other amendments "to include clothing," "to make the feeding compulsory," and "that the cost shall be borne by the National Exchequer," were ruled out of order, and the resolution as submitted was carried.

SECULAR EDUCATION.

That this Conference believes the only logical settlement of the Education Question lies in the adoption of Secular Education in all schools supported out of public funds, and presses upon the Labour Members in the House to do all in their power to enforce this solution of the problem.

The Conference also urges the Labour Party in Parliament to oppose to their utmost the contracting out clause of the present Education Bill.—Byker, Long Eaton.

The first part of the resolution was moved by J. Smith, and the rider, which was down as an amendment was accepted as an addition. It was supported by Rev. W. B. Graham who spoke as a Minister of the Church of England; and also by Rev.

G. Neighbour (Penrhiwceiber) as a Nonconformist ; J. Larkin (Dublin), speaking as a Catholic, also supported the resolution, which was agreed to.

EDUCATION CONFERENCE.

That in the opinion of this Conference the time has arrived for a joint Conference of Socialists and Labour Representatives on National and Local Governing Bodies to consider the question of Education as it affects the wage-earning classes.—Wolverhampton.

W. Crosland, in moving, spoke of the way in which the Government was crowding the workers out from their share of educational facilities ; and S. J. Uttley suggested that the N.A.C. should summon the Conference and invite teachers to attend.

The resolution as printed was agreed to, the Chairman stating it would be taken as a recommendation by the N.A.C., which would do its best to carry it into effect.

At this stage the Standing Orders Committee moved that speeches should be limited to five and four minutes, but an amendment that three and two minutes be substituted was agreed to.

SECONDARY EDUCATION.

A resolution on this subject was moved by A. Wilson (Halifax), J. Linfoot (Stockport), seconding, said that the Higher Grade Schools were introducing fees to exclude the workmen's children, and the N.U.T. had issued a pamphlet asking for Labour men's support.

Badlay (Leeds) said that in two minutes he would try to give the experience of three years. (Laughter). Three years ago in Leeds they had 3024 pupils, to-day there were only 2492, which showed the failure of secondary education from the working man's point of view. Money had a lower purchasing power, and the whole scheme of secondary education was a fraud as far as the workers were concerned.

Ben Riley said that many of the local education authorities were more reactionary than the Board of Education. In theory it placed secondary education at the feet of all, but to do it would kill the people through the rates. What was needed was increased grants.

D. Hardaker (Brighouse) : The West Riding County Council had a higher Education Committee which was looked upon as a model, but the poor parents who wanted secondary education for their children had to appear before that body and parade their poverty, which was objectionable.

As submitted the resolution censured the Board of Education,

S. J. Uttley (Ipswich) moved the deletion of the censure, so that only the recommendations be retained. He pointed out that the grants for secondary education had been greatly increased contingent on the provision of 25 per cent. of free places, and it was not consistent of them to censure without acknowledging what had been done. He was not contending that the Board had done enough, but he thought that the censure might very well be dropped.

Saunders Jacobs (West Ham) asked how it could be expected that a child should show educational attainments at 11 years of age. The kind of progress he looked for at that age was ability to eat a good square meal, swim a certain number of yards, to walk well, talk well, and understand what was said. (Applause).

Miss M. McMillan did not think the best way to get things out of the Board of Education was by ignoring what they had done and by keeping on condemning them. The Board had made great advances during the past year. They had done things never expected of them. If the Conference wanted to have any effect on that august body they must be just and acknowledge the Board's good deeds.

The amendment was carried, as were also other amendments, and the resolution passed in the following form :—

That this Conference recommends the Labour Party :

- a To press for a minimum age of 11 years for admittance to secondary schools.*
- b Abolition of the present scholarship system, and admission to be only by Educational attainment.*
- c Ask for largely increased grants.*
- d To provide full maintenance grants to all scholars desirous of obtaining such education.*

Miss McMillan, on behalf of the Westminster branch, moved that :—

EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS.

That this Conference recommends that in certain experimental districts schools should be established on the lines of the Real-schule in Germany, such technical and secondary schools being urgently necessary in order that children of all classes may be efficiently trained in science, and its application to the trades and arts of life, as well as in literary subjects.

She said that the higher schools were more or less mediæval in type. Labour should not only aspire to secondary Education, but should select and define the order of it. Socialists should not make a raid on the Grammar Schools, but should, if necessary, build new kinds of secondary schools. In Germany there was an order of school built for the education of captains of

industry, which are called Real-schulen. They give an education of which science is the basis, and which, in its highest stages, deals with applied science in the field of industry, and this was the kind of secondary school which should interest Socialists very much, as they wanted to have complete control of the means of production. She would like to see a few such schools started at once in slum areas.

J. Fox (Oxford) said that Conservative Oxford was ready as was Cambridge to give the education if it was needed. The workers should seek the aid of the University authorities.

G. Saunders Jacobs supported Miss McMillan's motion. He described the suggestion that the workers could get real benefit from the Universities as "mystical bunkum." They might be pleasant places to live in for those who could afford the expense, or were sent under exceptional circumstances, but were of no service to the workers' cause. He pleaded for a healthy training until adult age, which could best be had without University training on present lines.

The resolution was passed.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND N.A.C.

The Chairman and Treasurer were re-elected without opposition.

FIRST BALLOT.

The result of the first ballot was as follows:—

J. Keir Hardie, M.P.....	367
P. Snowden, M.P.....	302
J. Bruce Glasier.....	219
Victor Grayson,	189
W. C. Anderson.....	135
H. Russell Smart.....	117
James Parker	73
E. R. Hartley	65
Joseph Burgess.....	60
J. M. McLachlan	41
Russell Williams	36
R. C. Wallhead	26
Robert Morley	23

Ten other names fell below the twenty votes.

The Standing Orders Committee reported that Messrs. Hardie and Snowden had an absolute majority, and were therefore elected. The next four on the list, all of whom had over a quarter of the total votes, ought to go to a second ballot. This was agreed to.

SECOND BALLOT.—Glasier 263, Anderson 201, Grayson 198, Smart 169. J. Bruce Glasier was therefore declared elected, the last three names went to a third ballot.

THIRD BALLOT.—Anderson 183, Grayson 162, Smart 82
W. C. Anderson was therefore declared elected.

The result of election of Divisional Members of the Council, elected by votes of members prior to Conference was declared as follows :—

- | | |
|----------|---------------------|
| Division | 1. W. Stewart. |
| „ | 2. Rev. W. E. Moll. |
| „ | 3. Ben Riley. |
| „ | 4. J. Howard. |
| „ | 5. W. Field. |
| „ | 6. H. Brockhouse. |
| „ | 7. Miss McMillan. |

THE GOVERNMENT AND RUSSIA.

J. H. Harley (South St. Pancras), on behalf of his branch, moved :—

That this Conference of the I.L.P. protests emphatically against the action of the present Government, through its Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, in entering into an agreement with the Russian Government, and thereby giving an informal sanction to the course of infamous tyranny which has suppressed every semblance of representation, and has condemned great numbers of our Russian comrades to imprisonment, torture, and death. It also records its conviction that the Russian Government sought this agreement in order to rehabilitate its credit with international financiers, and to recommend it in its efforts to raise fresh loans in Great Britain.

He said it was very difficult to know exactly what was happening in Russia at the present time. They had learned to distrust the ordinary channels of information, but he had taken great pains to get information from Socialist sources, and, as far as he could gather, during the last four or five months 1615 Socialists had been exiled, imprisoned or tortured, thirty Labour and Socialist Deputies of the three Dumas had been condemned to long terms of imprisonment or sent in chains to Siberia, women had been insulted, and constituencies had been jerrymandered and manipulated to the will of the ruling classes. In these circumstances it came as a shock to learn in the last session of Parliament that an agreement had been entered into with the Russian nation touching various interests. When Sir Edward Grey was reproached for agreeing, his only reply was that the Foreign Office could take no account of the internal affairs of another nation. There never was a more dishonest plea. (Hear, hear). When, a few months before, the Servian nation perpetrated a deed which all abhorred, did the Foreign Office take up the position? Then it was a King and Queen who were murdered, and this country withdrew its diplomatic representative.

Was it not more heinous to assassinate a nation than a King and Queen? (Applause). It was time that the healthy breath of Socialist criticism played on the Foreign Office. (Applause). The Foreign Office was manned by the children of the upper classes, it was littered with venerable cobwebs, and it was time that the people gave an imperative mandate to those who represented them not to let such things happen in the future. "We have been singing with great enthusiasm 'The Red Flag,' and the references in 'The Red Flag' which to us are pious aspirations, are to our Russian comrades grim realities." (Loud applause)

The Chairman said he thought the Conference desired the resolution to be put at once, and passed with emphasis, to indicate to the powers that be that in the opinion of those assembled the conduct of the Russian bureaucracy was a disgrace to European civilisation.

The resolution was carried amid tumultuous applause, and a call for three cheers for the Russian Socialists brought the delegates to their feet, and they gave three lusty cheers for their distant comrades.

THE CONGO.

J. H. Harley moved the following resolution without comment :—

That this Conference of the I.L.P. desires to record its entire sympathy with the Belgian comrades in their protest against the shameless exploitation of the Congo by the Government of King Leopold, and, while recognising that none of the so-called civilised Governments are guiltless in their dealings with the coloured races, urges on the British Government to take such action as may compel a more humane treatment of the natives of the Congo.
—S. St. Pancras.

This was agreed to with applause.

INDIA.

The Standing Orders Committee submitted the following resolution, which was moved by J. Keir Hardie, M.P.:

That in view of the growing poverty of the Indian people, the increasing ravages of plague and famine, and the reactionary nature of the administration, this Conference declares its sympathy with the aims of the Indian Congress, and is of opinion that the people of India should be given a more effective control over their own affairs.

He said that the Indian Congress was mainly composed of the educated classes, and throughout its proceedings there ran the determination to assist the poor ryot and to lift him out of his miserable position. When people said that India was not fit

for a larger measure of self-government, they were speaking in opposition to the facts. Take for example the three native states that he visited—Baroda, Mysore, and Travancore. In one or other of those states he found parish councils established, he found compulsory free education, and in one of them there was an annual Parliament popularly elected to meet and discuss national affairs. The whole administration, from the humblest office right up to the chief judgeship, was filled by natives, and the administration of the affairs of those states was a model to the rest of India. If therefore, it was said that the natives were not ready for self-government, it was only in those places where British rule obtained that the statement could apply. In the native states the natives were ruling themselves, and ruling themselves well. The reason it was maintained that India was not fit for a larger measure of self-government was that there were some 11,000 of the sons of our middle classes who found comfortable billets in ruling India. (Hear, hear). If it were admitted that the Indian people were fit to enter into competition—that was all they asked—with the sons of the British people for appointment to those posts, the close monopoly that obtained would soon disappear. (Hear, hear).

J. Burgess (Bradford) seconded the resolution, declaring that the methods adopted by Mr. John Morley in dealing with the so-called sedition in India were Russian methods, and ought to be condemned. (Applause). "These men accused of sedition in India," the speaker added, "are simply doing what we are doing every day—speaking in the market places and at street corners to try and improve the economic conditions of their fellows." Their exile did not in essence differ at all from the sending of Russian subjects to Siberia. (Applause).

The resolution was carried unanimously.

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT.

The following report of the Party Members of Parliament was read by Philip Snowden, M.P. :—

The session of 1907, unlike that of the previous session, saw no industrial or social reform carried into law. The King's Speech indicated that a Licensing Bill and an Army Bill would be the two other chief measures of the session, but the Licensing Bill was never introduced, and a greater part of the Government time was given up to the Army Bill.

The Government are masters of Parliamentary time. Apart from the very limited opportunities given by the ballots for private bills and motions, the private members have no means by which they can bring proposals forward, except, to some extent, as amendments to Government Bills. The good fortune in the ballot which favoured the Labour members in the first session

deserted them last year, and they obtained only one favourable place for a private Bill, which was used for a Miners' Eight Hours Bill.

As no promise was given in the King's Speech that the questions of Old Age Pensions and Unemployment would be dealt with, the Labour Party moved amendments on these two subjects. Whenever opportunity occurred, or could be made during the session, on the Budget, on adjournments at question time, your members raised these matters. The session of last year might, so far as the Labour members were concerned, be described as preparing the way for the thorough consideration and treatment of the Unemployed and Old Age Pensions questions in the present session.

The announcement made by Mr. Asquith in his Budget Speech that a scheme of Old Age Pensions would be established this year was followed up from the Labour benches by vigorous speeches, especially one by Philip Snowden, laying down the principles and details of the only scheme which would be acceptable to the party. Although the Bill, it was known, could not go further than the first reading last session, it was decided to introduce the Unemployed Bill, which had been approved by all sections of the Labour and Trade Union parties. This was done on July 9th, by Mr. MacDonald, under the Ten Minutes' Rule, which enabled him to put the main outlines of the Bill before the House.

Though the main object of the Labour members during last session was to use the time and chances to prepare the way for the work of this session, the general work of Parliament was followed with the closest interest, and efforts were made to influence the Government proposals in a democratic direction. A committee of the Party prepared a very full and able statement of objections to the Army Bill, and of suggestions for amendment. Mr. MacDonald was put in charge of the Bill on behalf of the Labour Party, and his speech on the second reading was universally regarded as a most able criticism and statement.

On the Budget your members spoke and voted for the remission of indirect taxation, and for a motion made by Mr. Jowett to limit the operation of the differentiation between the two classes of incomes to those not exceeding £1,000 a year. A Bill, introduced by Mr. MacDonald to extend the Feeding of School Children Act to Scotland passed through committee; but as the Government did not provide further facilities the Bill did not become law. A Factory and Workshop Act was passed, and the form in which it finally became law was largely due to the amendments which the Labour Party secured in committee. Other Bills in which the Labour Party took a special interest, both in the House and in committee, were the Small Holdings' Bill, the Land Values (Scotland) Bill, the Patents' Bill, and the Women's Enfranchisement Bill.

Other matters of importance and interest which came before the House during last session were the House of Lords Resolution, the Treatment of Native Races, Home Office Administration, the Navy, Shop Hours, Sweated Industries, Town Development, and Municipal Bills.

Your members have taken more than their share of the work of the Committees. The Labour Party is represented by one or more members in every important committee, and they have been able to do a good deal on these committees to improve legislation. Mr. Jowett has been since the beginning of this Parliament a member of the Police and Sanitary Committee, which has the consideration of Municipal Bills, and his long experience and wide knowledge of Municipal work has been of great value. Mr. Parker is on the Public Accounts Committee, a very important committee, which acts as the auditor of all National expenditure. Mr. Snowden and Mr. Summerbell are on Royal Commissions, investigating Canal Systems, Coast Erosions, and Afforestation, and Mr. Clynes served on one of the Grand Committees.

The Labour Party in Parliament suffered last session from the loss of the help of our colleague, Keir Hardie, who, early in the session, was stricken with illness, which prevented him from attendance.

At the beginning of the present session the Labour Party were very unfortunate in the ballot for bills, but Mr. P. W. Wilson, M.P., who had secured a good place, kindly agreed to take charge of the Labour Party's Unemployed Bill.

As the King's Speech contained a promise of Old Age Pensions, no amendment to the Address could be moved ; but as no reference to Unemployment was made, the Labour Party decided to put down an amendment, which was moved by Mr. MacDonald, and, later in the debate, supported by Mr. Snowden. The whole debate on this motion was upon an unusually high level, with the exception of the speech of the President of the Local Government Board, and its impressiveness was indicated in the remarkable vote which followed, when the Government majority fell to 140.

On the 28th February, a Private Members' Bill for the Enfranchisement of Women was read a second time. All your members, with, of course, the exception of Mr. Hardie (who was away), voted for the Bill in accordance with the instructions of your Conference and their own opinions.

The Unemployed Bill was brought on for second reading on March 13th. The Government opposed the Bill, but, notwithstanding, we obtained 116 votes for it, against 265. The educational effect of the promotion of the Bill has been very great, and it has done much to advance the cause of the Unem-

ployed, which we are certain the Government dare not much longer ignore.

The promised scheme of Old Age Pensions has not yet been produced. Your members are awaiting its appearance with much interest—(laughter)—and will spare no efforts to secure a satisfactory system.

Our relations with our Trade Union colleagues of the Labour Party continue most harmonious, and time strengthens the alliance, and justifies more and more its wisdom. (Applause).

QUESTIONS ON THE REPORT.

A delegate asked for information as to the attitude of the I.L.P. members of Parliament on the Miners' Eight Hours Question, and whether they were supporting the Miners' M.P.'s in the House of Commons. He understood that the Bill was not an Eight Hours Bill, and that the miners had not been consulted.

The Chairman replied that the I.L.P. members would vote for the second reading of the Bill as it stood, and he was quite sure they would support amendments which would make it a real Eight Hours Bill. (Applause).

A. Barton (Sheffield) asked to be informed of the conditions of the compact that was being made between the I.L.P. and the Liberal-Labour members of the House of Commons. The position in Sheffield was very detrimental to the Independent Labour Party's prospects. They were fighting Liberal-Labour men municipally, and knocking them out of the Council, but in the House of Commons they found the two parties making compacts.

The Chairman replied that no agreement had been come to between the Labour Party and the Trade Union group. The three conditions of the agreement were that the Labour Party and the Trade Union group would act together on Labour questions. They would have a monthly meeting together to consider the basis of their common action, and that they should not oppose each other's candidates at the elections. There was no bar upon action on the I.L.P. in constituencies held by any member of the Trade Union group. It merely was a matter of actual election work which was included in the agreement should it be come to.

C. A. Glyde (Bradford) : Is Mr. Fred Maddison acknowledged as a member of the Trade Union group ?

The Chairman said the matter was only at the beginning. Any statement he might make would not forward it.

After further discussion, the Chairman said the whole matter was under negotiation. They were not going to agree to anything that would have the effect of upsetting the general foundations of the party. (Hear, hear). They were going to agree to nothing that would carry with it responsibility to be imposed upon them in their local contests to oppose or withhold opposition

from any of their old enemies. If they came to an agreement it would be purely a Parliamentary one, and of such a character as to be within the basis of the Labour Party as laid down at Conference after Conference.

The Chairman, in answer to J. Larkin and W. Walker (Belfast) said the question of compensation to the relatives of those killed during Belfast riots was receiving the attention of the Labour Party, and it was agreed a letter should be sent to the Labour Party assuring them of the support of the I.L.P. in any action they might take.

J. Larkin raised the question of a newspaper article written by Philip Snowden, M.P., on the riots, and the latter remarked that nothing he said in the article had been either on knowledge or ignorance of the facts relating to the Belfast strike. He was simply dealing with the general question as to the use of the military in times of riot, and he held that it rested with the local authority and not with a Minister of State to call out the military,

A. Holiday (Lowestoft) asked whether the I.L.P. members could not secure compensation for fishermen.

The Chairman replied that the Labour members when this Bill was in Committee went carefully into the matter so far as their information went, and they were very much opposed to this exception. A serious difficulty arose, however, in the case of what were known as the share fishermen, and though the Labour members tried to make the clause effective, they did not meet with much success.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

That in future the Annual Conference be held in each of the Divisional Areas in turn, taking them in order as they at present stand, and that the delegates (only) from the Division in which Conference is due to be held decide on the most suitable town or place.—Usworth.

Adopted by 187 votes to 105.

The Chairman ruled that the above would take effect with next Conference, and as Edinburgh was the only nomination from Division I, Scotland, the 1909 Conference would be held in that city.

THE FRANCHISE.

That this Conference declares in favour of adult suffrage and the political equality of the sexes, and considers that the right of suffrage should immediately be extended to women on the same conditions as men.—Agenda Committee, Hollinwood. Google

Moved by G. Madelaine (Hollinwood), seconded by Mrs. Moore (Dulwich).

An amendment to add, "Providing that the right to the franchise is extended to every married woman whose husband is qualified to vote," was moved by G. Saunders Jacobs (N. West Ham), and seconded by Alfred Barton (Sheffield), who remarked that he was married to a suffragette—(laughter)—but he wanted married women to have the vote as well as spinsters and widows. (Applause.)

J. Keir Hardie hoped the Conference would reject the amendment, as it would affect the progress of the women's cause.

Mrs. Paul Campbell (Walthamstow) asked whether those who moved the resolution would say that when a man got married he should lose the vote the same as a woman. (Laughter.)

Mrs. Bruce Glasier hoped that once again the I.L.P. Conference would not discuss this question from any standpoint but that of principle. Every member of the I.L.P. surely believed that women should have equal rights with men.

The amendment was not carried, and a further amendment to "delete all after sexes" was defeated by 273 to 142 votes.

The resolution was carried by a substantial majority.

It was also resolved, on the motion of Glasgow City,

That all elected persons on Town Councils endeavour to get their respective Councils to petition Parliament in favour of the immediate enfranchisement of women.

OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

Miss Gardner (Sidcup) moved, and Coun. Russell Goldthorpe seconded :—

That this Conference urges the Party to press for a system of Old Age Pensions, which shall include all men and women who, from age or infirmity, are unable to work, the cost to be borne from Imperial taxation on unearned incomes. It also suggests the introduction of the Budget as a fitting occasion for the Labour Party in Parliament to bring clearly before the House the necessity and urgency of this matter.

Agreed.

THE LICENSING BILL.

On behalf of the Agenda Committee, J. Keir Hardie, M.P., proposed :—

That this Conference is strongly opposed to the existing licensing system, which confers vested rights in public licenses, and while approving any measure which aims at restoring the community to its licensing rights, and the value of the monopoly created by

licensing, and giving increased powers of local restriction of the drink traffic, declares that no measure of Temperance reform can be accepted as satisfactory which does not make provision for enabling the community to undertake the municipalisation and complete control of public-houses.

He declared that the number of public-houses was always the greatest in localities where poverty was the greatest, and so long as they were allowed to continue in such large numbers no effort of a very healthy kind would be made to improve the conditions of our slums. The fact that men, and very often women, had a public-house to go to, deadened their feelings in regard to their surroundings, and made it possible for the slum landlord to go on rack-renting. They (the Independent Labour Party) wanted, when the people of a place decided that public-houses were to be continued, and where a municipality was willing to take over these public-houses, that power should be given to them to do so. (Hear, hear.) None of them believed for a moment that the Licensing Bill was going to remedy the evil of unemployment, poverty, or any other evil produced by our social system, but what they all wanted was that the existing evils should be crippled as much as possible, and finally rendered innocuous by being brought under popular control. (Applause.)

Miss McMillan seconded the resolution, observing that the children of the slums never had a greater enemy than the public-house.

C. Fox (Gloucester) supported. What there was in the Bill was good, though they would like to make it stronger, particularly in the direction of municipalisation.

R. Wallhead (Manchester) advocated the nationalisation of the brewing industry as the only solution of the drink evil.

R. G. Murray (Sheffield) asserted that the Bill was introduced to draw attention away from the miseries of the working classes, as the question of the House of Lords and the Education Bill had been. He was sorry to see the Labour Party jumping so heartily into the breach on this particular occasion. He quite agreed that reform was necessary, but he said, that while they were supporting the Liberal Party on the Licensing Bill, they were fighting them on the Unemployed Bill, which was a far more important measure. He was much more in favour of the latter than he was of any measure of Temperance reform.

Joseph Burgess spoke in favour of the resolution. If they stood straight and true on the questions which affected the working classes they would get their support, and it would be a very wrong thing to let it go forth from the Conference that on a question of political expediency they had refused to support a measure which they yearned for, and which they wished to see incorporated in the law of the land. (Applause.)

The resolution was carried with only two dissentients.

MR. H. G. WELLS AND NORTH-WEST MANCHESTER.

A Delegate asked leave "to call attention to the conduct of a member of the I.L.P.," by which he was understood to refer to the intervention of Mr. H. G. Wells in the North-West Manchester election.

The Chairman ruled that nothing of the kind could be allowed without consultation with the Standing Orders Committee, whereupon Saunders Jacobs exclaimed: "Mr. Chairman, we ought to do something with regard to Mr. Wells."

The Chairman: This matter must go through the ordinary channels.

A Delegate: Can the matter come up on the subject of Socialist unity? (Laughter.)

W. Pickles (Chairman of the Standing Orders Committee) said the committee had considered the newspaper matter referred to, and they took the view that to deal with it merely meant advertising certain individuals, for which reason they did not approve of the subject coming before the Conference.

The Chairman: The recommendation is that the matter be not discussed in Conference. If you are to discuss the recommendation you must discuss it in an abstract kind of way.

G. H. Greensmith (Paddock): In an abstract kind of way I object to the I.L.P. being used to oppose a Socialist candidate. (Laughter and applause.)

The matter then dropped.

THE HOUSING QUESTION.

Councillor D. Adams (Newcastle) moved:—"That this Conference, recognising the evils of our housing system, and anxious for a solution of the problem, calls upon its members as a whole, in whatever capacity, to further in all possible ways the Housing Bill about to be introduced into Parliament, and backed up by members of the Labour Party."—*Beamish*. He described the Bill referred to as the most democratic measure that had been brought before the House of Commons for years. It contained great possibilities of reform, and was a Bill that all Socialists could support.

The motion having been seconded,

Philip Snowden said the mover of the resolution had not made it clear what Housing Bill he was talking about. He was not aware of any Bill introduced by a member of the Labour Party that was likely to receive attention this session, and the impression produced was that Mr. Adams' eulogies were bestowed on the Bill recently introduced by the President of the Local Government Board. If that was the case he must dissent entirely, or at any rate to a great extent, from what had been

said. The expectations entertained for two years that the President of the Local Government Board, with his experience of municipal work, would produce a statesmanlike Housing Bill had not been realised. It was true that there were good points in the Bill, but it was impossible for anybody to draft a Bill which did not contain one or two good things. The principal change in the Bill was that it made Part III of the Housing Act now in operation compulsory instead of optional, and the effect of that was not great. It simply relieved Town Councils of the necessity of passing the formal resolution by which the Act could be put into operation at the present time. The most objectionable clauses of the Bill were those referring to the planning of towns, and if those clauses were passed into law in anything like their present form the effect would be the most colossal endowment of landlordism seen in the present generation. He desired to impress upon the Conference the danger of committing itself, with the limited information now before it, to approval of the Bill.

Councillor Adams said the Bill referred to in his resolution was Mr. Bowerman's Bill.

The Chairman said the Party's representatives in Parliament were anxious that nothing should go out from that Conference in praise of the President of the Local Government Board's Bill until they had had time in Parliament to thrash out some important details.

The resolution was disposed of by a motion being carried to proceed to the next business.

NOMINATION FOR MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE LABOUR PARTY, 1909-10.

J. Keir Hardie, M.P., and Philip Snowden, M.P., were unanimously approved for nomination.

ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE, PORTSMOUTH, 1909.

The Party, being entitled to send 22 delegates,

It was agreed that as usual the Chairman, Treasurer, and Secretary, and two I.L.P. members of the Labour Party Executive should attend the Conference. 

W. Walker (Belfast) moved :—

That each individual area should nominate one representative to attend the Conference.

The resolution was seconded, and agreed to after amendments, that delegates should be elected by ballot, and that the

Conference should appoint five delegates and the N.A.C. be empowered to add to the number if it thought fit, had been put and lost. The Conference then proceeded to elect the representatives. Each Division nominated its candidates, who were voted upon by the Conference as a whole. The result of the vote was as follows :—

ELECTED :

Division 1.	Baillie McKerrell.
„ 2.	Rev. W. E. Moll.
„ 3.	Victor Grayson, M.P.
„ 4.	W. C. Anderson.
„ 5.	Mrs. Glasier.
„ 6.	Leonard Hall.
„ 7.	J. H. Harley.

The following resolution was then agreed to :—

That the N.A.C. be empowered to fill up to required number of delegates the Party is entitled to send.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

A resolution on Workmen's Compensation from Lowestoft was moved by A. Halliday, and additions from Derby and Kirkdale having been approved, it was agreed to in the following form :—

That this Conference recognises the value of the Workmen's Compensation Act now in force, but regrets the exclusion of a large number of manual workers at sea merely because of the method of wage-payment by the share system; is of opinion that all diseases brought about by employment should be included in the scope of the Act, and presses for the institution of State insurance for all accidents to workpeople arising through their employment.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION FUND.

J. Hodgkinson moved :—

That I.L.P. branches subscribe 1s. per member per year, to be paid in quarterly instalments of 3d. to a special fund for Parliamentary election purposes.—Lancaster.

J. Lunnion (Wallasey) was of opinion that if the Conference gave its approval of the resolution it would be easy to collect the amount from the membership.

E. Whiteley (Huddersfield) was against the resolution. The N.A.C. was asking branches to find the Returning Officer's fee, and the matter therefore became purely a local one.

Lost.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORM.

Paul Campbell (Walthamstow) moved :—

That the N.A.C. be instructed to draw up a comprehensive scheme of Local Government, abolishing the Poor Law system and constituting one authority in each borough for district or all local affairs, with full powers to embark on any form of municipal enterprise; such scheme to be embodied in a Bill, which the Labour Party should be asked to introduce in the next Parliamentary session.—Walthamstow.

He urged that Local Government reform was the next great outstanding question the Labour Party should take in hand. Without a radical alteration in the whole machinery of Local Government, the provisions of the Labour Party's Unemployed Bill could not be fully carried out.

Agreed.

NEW CONSTITUTION AND RULES.

On Sunday a Special Private Conference was held to consider the revision of the Constitution and Rules of the Party.

It was decided to retain the present name of the Party by 273 votes to 95.

The Clauses relating to the object, method, and membership were amended and adopted subject to verbal alteration if necessary.

On the question of the Programme, J. Keir Hardie, M.P., asked whether the whole of the Programme could not be abolished, and by permission moved that the question of the Programme be referred to the N.A.C., and that in its stead a statement of Socialist Principles should be substituted. Mr. Hardie, in support of his motion, pointed out that he had been away from England during the time the matter had been under consideration, or he would certainly have raised the question before. The resolution was seconded, and, after speeches for and against, it was decided to refer the matter to the N.A.C. by 251 votes to 144.

The Rules relating to Officers, Branches, Finances, Annual Conference, and Parliamentary Candidates were then considered, and approved in the form as printed on page 82, subject to verbal alterations being referred to N.A.C.

On Monday the Chairman reported that at the Private Conference the re-draft of the Constitution and Rules was agreed to (subject to minor alterations), with the exception that all the section dealing with the Programme was referred back, with a recommendation that the N.A.C. should substitute therefor a general Statement of Socialist Policy, and that in the Membership paragraph a clear provision be added that the attitude of members

in politics must be independent; also the following amendments to the section dealing with organisation:—

(a) That the number of N.A.C. members be increased from 11 to 15, the four additional members being Divisional.

(b) That the representation at Conference should only be open to members who have been members of the branch they represent from December 31st preceding Conference.

(c) That a statement of income and expenditure of the branches of the Party, and list of affiliation fees paid, be issued to each branch two weeks before each Conference.

Ben Riley (Huddersfield) moved:—

That the Report be adopted, subject to paragraph (a) being referred to the N.A.C. to draft a scheme of Constituencies, to be submitted to branches for approval.

This was agreed to.

Later, the Standing Orders Committee recommended that the Programme of the Party remain in force until the Statement of Principles had been submitted to the Party, and the recommendation was agreed to.

CLOSE OF THE CONFERENCE.

It had been decreed that the Conference should terminate at five o'clock. Both Mr. J. Keir Hardie and Mr. J. R. Macdonald, as well as every delegate who was free to go, had promised to make their way to Ben Turner's help in Dewsbury.

Sharp upon the stroke of the clock, therefore, Mr. Macdonald rose to declare his task, as chairman of the Conference, at an end.

Whereupon Mr. Snowden rose and moved a resolution expressing the warmest thanks of the Conference to their chairman for his magnificent conduct of the business, and also thanking the local comrades for the excellent arrangement made to provide for the comfort of the delegates during their stay in Huddersfield. He wished also to include the gentlemen of the Press in that vote of thanks with one single exception.

Mr. Wallhead, in seconding the resolution, invited the Conference to testify by the acclamation with which they passed it their deep indignation at the recent cowardly and underhand attacks which had been made upon their chairman, their unabated confidence in his honour, and their admiration for his magnificent services to the Party and the Socialist cause generally.

The resolution was carried amid a scene of the greatest enthusiasm, the delegates springing to their feet and cheering again and again.

The Conference concluded by the singing of "Auld Lang syne" and "The Red Flag."

The Independent Labour Party.

Constitution and Rules,

1908-9.

Name.

THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

Membership.

Open to all Socialists who endorse the principles and policy of the Party, are not members of either the Liberal or Conservative Party, and whose application for membership is accepted by a Branch.

Any member expelled from membership of a Branch of the I.L.P. shall not be eligible for membership of any other Branch without having first submitted his or her case for adjudication of the N.A.C.

Object.

The Object of the Party is to establish the Socialist State, when land and capital will be held by the community and used for the well-being of the community, and when the exchange of commodities will be organised also by the community, so as to secure the highest possible standard of life for the individual. In giving effect to this object it shall work as part of the International Socialist movement.

Method.

The Party, to secure its objects, adopts—

1. EDUCATIONAL METHODS, including the publication of Socialist literature, the holding of meetings, etc.

2. POLITICAL METHODS, including the election of its members to local and national administrative and legislative bodies.

PROGRAMME.

The true object of industry being the production of the requirements of life, the responsibility should rest with the community collectively, therefore :

The land being the storehouse of all the necessities of life should be declared and treated as public property.

The capital necessary for industrial operations should be owned and used collectively.

Work, and wealth resulting therefrom, should be equitably distributed over the population.

As a means to this end, we demand the enactment of the following measures :

1. A maximum of 48 hours working week, with the retention of all existing holidays, and Labour Day, May 1st, secured by law.

2. The provision of work to all capable adult applicants at recognised trade union rates, with a statutory minimum of sixpence per hour.

In order to remuneratively employ the applicants, Parish, District, Borough, and County Councils to be invested with powers to :

- (a) Organise and undertake such industries as they may consider desirable.

- (b) Compulsorily acquire land ; purchase, erect, or manufacture buildings, stock, or other articles for carrying on such industries.

- (c) Levy rates on the rental values of the district, and borrow money on the security of such rates for any of the above purposes.

3. State pensions for every person over 50 years of age, and adequate provision for all widows, orphans, sick and disabled workers.

4. Free, secular, moral, primary, secondary and university education, with free maintenance while at school or university.

5. The raising of the age of child labour, with a view to its ultimate extinction.

6. Municipalisation and public control of the drink traffic.

7. Municipalisation and public control of all Hospitals and Infirmaries.

8. Abolition of indirect taxation and the gradual transference of all public burdens on to unearned incomes with a view to their ultimate extinction.

The Independent Labour Party is in favour of adult suffrage, with full political rights and privileges for women, and the immediate extension of the franchise to women on the same terms as granted to men ; also triennial Parliaments and second ballot.

ORGANISATION.

I.—Officers.

1. Chairman and Treasurer.

2. No member shall occupy the office of Chairman of the Party for a longer consecutive period than three years, and he shall not be eligible for re-election for the same office for at least twelve months after he has vacated the chair.

3. A NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL.—To be composed of fifteen representatives, in addition to the two officers.

4. ELECTION OF N.A.C.—Four members of the N.A.C. shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Conference, and eleven by the votes of members in seven divisional areas.

5. DUTIES OF N.A.C.—

(a) To meet at least three times a year to transact business relative to the Party.

(b) To exercise a determining voice in the selection of Parliamentary candidates, and, where no branch exists, to choose such candidates when necessary.

(c) To raise and disburse funds for General and Bye-elections, and for other objects of the Party.

(d) To deal with such matters of local dispute between branches and members which may be referred to its decision by the parties interested.

(e) To appoint secretary and officials and exercise a supervising control over their work.

(f) To engage organisers and lecturers when convenient either permanently or for varying periods, at proper wages, and to direct and superintend their work.

(g) To present to the Annual Conference a report on the previous year's work and progress of the Party.

(h) To appoint when necessary sub-committees to deal with special branches of its work, and to appoint a committee to deal with each Conference Agenda. Such committee to revise and classify the resolutions sent in by branches and to place resolutions dealing with important matters on the Agenda.

(i) It shall not initiate any new departure or policy between Conferences without first obtaining the sanction of the majority of the branches.

(k) Matters arising between Conferences not provided for by the Constitution, shall be dealt with by the N.A.C.

6. AUDITOR.—A Chartered or Incorporated Accountant shall be employed to audit the accounts of the Party.

II.—Branches.

1. **BRANCH.**—An Association which endorses the objects and methods of the Party, and affiliates in the prescribed manner.
2. **LOCAL AUTONOMY.**—Subject to the general constitution of the Party, each Branch shall be perfectly autonomous.

III.—Finances.

1. Branches shall pay one penny per member per month to the N.A.C.
2. The N.A.C. may receive donations or subscriptions to the funds of the Party. It shall not receive moneys which are contributed upon terms which interfere in any way with its freedom of action as to their disbursement.
3. The financial year of the Party shall begin on March 1st, and end on the last day of February next succeeding.

IV.—Annual Conference.

1. Is the ultimate authority of the Party, to which all final appeal shall be made.
2. **DATE.**—Shall be held at Easter.
3. **SPECIAL CONFERENCES.**—A Special Conference shall always be called prior to a General Election, for the purpose of determining the policy of the Party during the election. Other Special Conferences may be called by two-thirds of the whole of the members of the N.A.C., or by one-third of the branches of the Party.
4. **CONFERENCE FEE.**—A Conference Fee per delegate (the amount to be fixed by the N.A.C.) shall be paid by all branches desiring representation on or before the last day of February in each year.
5. No branch shall be represented which was not in existence on the December 31st immediately preceding the date of the Annual Conference.
6. Branches of the Party may send one delegate to Conference for each fifty members, or part thereof. Branches may appoint one delegate to represent their full voting strength. Should there be two or more branches which are unable separately to send delegates to Conference, they may jointly do so.
7. Delegates must have been members of the branch they represent from December 31st immediately preceding the date of the Conference.
8. Notices respecting resolutions shall be posted to branches not later than January 3rd. Resolutions for the Agenda, and nominations for officers and N.A.C. shall be in the hands of the General Secretary eight weeks before the date of the Annual

Conference, and issued to the branches a fortnight later. Amendments to resolutions on the Agenda and additional nominations may be sent to the Secretary four weeks before Conference, and they shall be arranged on the final Agenda, which shall be issued to branches two weeks before Conference. A balance sheet shall be issued to branches two weeks before the Conference, showing the receipts and expenditure of the Party for the year, also the number of branches affiliated and the amount each branch has paid in affiliation fees during the year.

9. The Chairman of the Party for the preceding year shall preside over the Conference.

10. CONFERENCE OFFICIALS.—The first business of the Conference shall be the appointment of tellers. It shall next elect a Standing Orders Committee, with power to examine the credentials of delegates, and to deal with special business which may be delegated to it by the Conference.

11. In case any vacancy occurs on the N.A.C. between Conferences, the unsuccessful candidate receiving the largest number of votes at the preceding elections shall fill the vacancy. Vacancies in the list of officers shall be filled up by the vote of the branches.

12. The principle of the second ballot shall be observed in all elections.

13. The Conference shall choose the place of the next Conference.

V.—Parliamentary Candidates.

1. The N.A.C. shall keep a list of members of the Party from which candidates may be selected by Branches.

2. Any Branch at any time may nominate any eligible member of the Party to be placed upon that list.

3. The N.A.C. itself may place names on the list.

4. No person shall be placed upon this list unless he has been a member of the Party for at least twelve months.

5. Branches desiring to place a candidate in their constituencies must in the first instance communicate with the N.A.C., and have the candidate selected at a properly convened conference of representatives of the local branches of all societies affiliated with the Labour Party, so that the candidate may be chosen in accordance with the constitution of the Labour Party. The N.A.C. shall have power to suspend this clause where local or other circumstances appear to justify such a course.

6. Before the N.A.C. sanctions any candidature it shall be entitled to secure guarantees of adequate local financial support.

7. No Branch shall take any action which affects prejudicially the position or prospects of a Parliamentary candidate,

without first laying the case before the N.A.C.

8. Each candidate must undertake that he will run his election in accordance with the principles and policy of the Party, and that if elected he will support the Party on all questions coming within the scope of the principles of the I.L.P.

List of Branches and Societies

**Affiliated to the Independent Labour Party, with amount of Affiliation Fees
Paid and Names of Delegates attending Huddersfield Conference, 1908.**

NOTE.—Owing to the increase in the number of Branches it is not possible to give the names and addresses of secretaries. Communications for individual Branches may be sent to 23 Bride Lane, Fleet Street, and will be re-addressed, or Federation Secretaries may have the addresses of Branch Secretaries in their area sent on application.

DIVISION 1.

NAME OF BRANCH.	FEE PAID.	DELEGATE.
	£ s. d.	
Aberdeen	2 11 0	Joseph Duncan.
Alva	0 12 0	
Alloa	0 13 0	
Annan	0 12 1	
Annbank	0 8 9	
Arbroath	0 9 6	
Armadales	1 16 0	
Auchinleck		
Ayr	0 8 2	
Barrhead	0 19 6	
Bathgate		
Beith	1 3 0	
Bellshill	0 3 0	James Welsh. J. Welsh.
Blantyre	0 12 0	
Bo'ness	0 12 9	
Bonnyrigg	0 9 0	
Brechin	0 18 0	
Broxburn	0 2 11	
Busby	0 14 8	Miss Lizzie Glasier.
Campsie	0 7 9	
Carlisle	0 18 0	
Castle Douglas	0 7 0	
Clydebank	5 0 0	Samuel MacDonald.
Coatbridge		
Condorrat	0 1 1	
Connell Park		
Crosshill	0 8 11	
Cumnock	1 2 0	J. Keir Hardie, M.P.
Dalbeattie	0 9 0	
Dalkeith	0 13 4	
Dalry	0 17 8	
Darvel	1 7 6	Bailie Muirhead. George Kerr, Junr.
Douglas Water	1 14 0	
Dumbarton	0 16 6	
Dumfries	1 9 9	
Dundee	2 11 0	Miss Agnes Husband.
Dunfermline	1 16 0	

NAME OF BRANCH	FEES PAID.			DELEGATE.
	£	s.	d.	
Edinburgh	7	14	9	James B. Buchanan, J. W. Hogg.
North Edinburgh	0	9	0	
West Edinburgh	0	9	0	Robert H. Murray.
Elgin	0	10	5	Miss Mabel Saunders.
Fraserburgh	0	8	11	
Galashiels	0	15	0	
Girvan	0	6	11	
Glasgow—				
Blackfriars & Hutchesontown	3	0	0	P. G. Stewart.
Bonnybridge				
Bridgeton				
Calton				
Camlachie	3	0	0	William Stewart.
Glasgow City	1	17	6	James A. Allen.
College				
Dennistoun	2	15	0	James O'Connor-Kessack.
Glespin	0	12	0	
Govan				
Govanhill	0	6	8	Miss Jessie Hannan.
Kinning Park	0	9	6	A. Gilchrist, J.P.
Kingston				
Maryhill	1	10	0	
Newton				
Partick	2	17	0	James McKerral.
Plantation	1	10	0	
St. Rollox	2	0	0	
Shettleston	1	11	6	
South Govan	0	8	9	John Hill.
Springburn	1	0	0	
Grangemouth				
Hawick	2	0	0	
Helensburgh	0	8	0	
Holytown Socialist Society..				
Inverness	0	3	0	
Johnstone				
Kelty	0	4	4	
Kilbarchan	0	13	0	
Kilburnie	1	4	0	
Kilmarnock	0	17	6	George Knox.
Kilsyth	0	1	4	
Kirkintilloch	0	10	0	James Wells.
Kirriemuir	0	15	6	
Lanark	0	13	7	
Larkhall	2	1	0	
Leith	3	0	0	Thomas Edgar.
Lismahogow	0	14	8	
Lochgelly	1	10	0	
Longcroft				
Luncarty				
Maybole	0	19	8	
Milngavie	0	12	0	Lauchlin, Mc.N. Weir.
Motherwell	1	10	0	George Dallas.
Muirkirk	0	12	0	
Musselburgh	1	4	0	
Newmains				
Newmilns	0	10	0	

NAME OF BRANCH.	FEES PAID.			DELEGATE.
	£	s.	d.	
Paisley	3	0	0	Joseph Brook.
Pecbles	0	5	0	
Perth	0	10	0	
Peterhead	1	0	0	Harry West.
Portobello	0	10	3	
Renfrew	0	18	0	
Rutherglen	1	10	0	
Selkirk	0	0	6	
Stirling	0	18	0	
Stonehaven	0	6	8	
Stranraer	0	10	0	
Strathaven	0	4	0	
Temple	0	5	0	
Tillicoultry	0	14	0	
Uddingstone	0	18	0	
Vale of Leven	1	10	0	F. M. Craig.
Walkerburn	0	8	0	
Wishaw	1	10	2	

DIVISION II.

Annfield Plain	1	3	4	
Annitsford	0	3	6	
Ashington	1	14	0	
Beamish	1	7	0	
Bedlington	0	0	8	
Benwell	4	16	0	G. Smith.
Bill Quay	0	12	0	
Birtley	0	15	6	
Bishop Auckland	1	3	6	
Blaydon-on-Tyne	0	12	0	C. M. Parker.
Blyth	1	0	6	
Boldon Colliery				
Burradon	0	2	6	
Chester-le-Street	1	0	6	
Chopwell	0	4	8	
Cockfield	0	8	3	W. E. Bland.
Consett	1	16	2	
Cornsay Colliery	0	8	9	E. Holliday.
Cramlington	1	2	6	
Crawcrook				M. T. Simm.
Crook	0	13	0	
Darlington	2	10	0	W. E. Stitt.
Dipton	0	10	6	
East Hedley Hope	0	5	6	T. Barras.
Eldon				
Esh Winning & Waterhouses				
Felling	1	10	0	George Smith.
Frosterley	0	5	3	
Gateshead	5	3	4	E. Creswell & T. Peacock.
Haltwhistle	0	1	0	
Hartlepool	3	13	4	T. Beckett.
Heaton & Byker	4	0	2	
Hebburn-on-Tyne	0	17	0	James Smith.
Hebburn Colliery	0	7	0	
High Spen	1	9	0	E. Stoker.
Jarrow	0	17	11	

NAME OF BRANCH.	FEES PAID.	DELEGATE.
	£. s. d.	
Langley Park	1 10 0	George Luke.
Langley Moor	1 4 0	
Lemington-on-Tyne	0 11 0	
Loftus	0 9 4	
Low Fell	0 2 1	
Middlesbrough	8 19 2	W. Brownbridge, A. Jowett, G. E. F. Hansen, Mrs. M. Coates Hansen.
Murton	0 3 4	
Newcastle	5 8 4	
New Herrington	0 5 0	Coun. D. Adams, Chas. Barber, E. Gibbin.
New Marske	0 18 6	
N. Shields	0 11 8	
North Seaton	0 6 4	Mrs. L. E. Simm. J. W. Dowens
Ouston	0 1 6	
Prudhoe	0 11 8	
Rowlands Gill	0 10 0	Miss J. J. Shields, F. Swales. T. Summerbell, M.P.
Sacriston	0 16 0	
South Gosforth	0 6 3	
South Shields	1 0 0	J. Walmsley, T. Richardson. D. Macduff.
Shildon	3 0 0	
Shiremoor	0 8 6	
North Skelton	1 10 0	J. Walmsley, T. Richardson. D. Macduff.
Silksworth	1 2 0	
South Bank	1 2 0	
Southwick	0 1 8	Miss J. J. Shields, F. Swales. T. Summerbell, M.P.
Spennymoor	0 11 4	
Stanhope	2 15 0	
Stockton	3 10 0	J. Walmsley, T. Richardson. D. Macduff.
Sunderland	0 7 6	
Tantobie	0 4 5	
Thornley	0 1 7	J. Walmsley, T. Richardson. D. Macduff.
Throckley	0 10 0	
Tow Law	0 16 11	
Trimdon	3 12 0	J. Walmsley, T. Richardson. D. Macduff.
Usworth & Washington	1 16 0	
Wallsend	0 1 0	
Wardley	1 10 0	J. Walmsley, T. Richardson. D. Macduff.
Washington Station	1 10 0	
Whitburn	0 15 0	
Willington	0 2 5	J. Walmsley, T. Richardson. D. Macduff.
Windy Nook	0 2 10	
Wingate	0 6 8	
Winlaton	0 3 0	J. Walmsley, T. Richardson. D. Macduff.
Wolsingham	0 15 0	
Wrekingham	1 18 8	

DIVISION III.

Acomb	0 15 0	Wilfred Hutton. W. Bridge. F. Barnes.
Baildon	1 18 8	
Barnsley	2 1 3	
Batley	1 8 5	T. Snowden.
Bentham	0 8 0	
Bingley	2 4 0	
Birstall	0 10 10	

NAME OF BRANCH.	FEES PAID.			DELEGATE.
	£	s.	d.	
Bradford.. .. .	26	0	0	C. A. Glyde, C. Webb, T. Brown, W. Watkins, J. H. Palin, J. W. Hillas, A. T. Sutton, W. Gill, Dr. H. Munro, J. Burgess, L. Sutton.
Brighouse	5	18	9	Dennis Hardaker, John William Taylor, Walter A. Rawlinson.
Castleford	0	15	0	G. Goodenough.
Carlton (R.S.O.)	0	10	0	J. Roberts.
Cleckheaton	4	4	0	John I. Swallow, Chas. Whitwam, T. E. Moorhouse, Sam Eastwood, Kendal Brierley, Wilson Brook, Arthur Curnock, Sam Tunncliffe, Harris Hoyle, Fred Worth, Victor Grayson M.P. Robert Copeland, Reg. Kenney.
Colne Valley L.L.	30	5	0	
Conisboro'	1	4	6	
Cowling	1	7	0	Mrs. Philip Snowden.
Cudworth	1	5	0	G. C. Thomas.
Cullingworth	0	2	4	
Denholme	0	6	8	
Dewsbury	1	2	2	Armitage Wilcock.
Dewsbury (Women's)	0	12	0	
Dinnington	0	7	8	
Doncaster	2	8	2	
Drighlington				E. Bayley.
East Ardsley	1	7	0	Barton Wild.
Ecclesfield	0	14	5	
Elland	2	15	0	John Swift.
Farsley				
Featherstone	1	3	10	
Flockton.. .. .	0	18	0	Coun. G. Tindall.
Goldthorpe	1	7	6	Coun. Russell.
Goole	3	6	4	Mrs. J. W. Mellor.
Grange Moor	0	12	10	Gamaliel Senior.
Gr'msthorpe	0	18	0	
Guiseley	0	2	6	
Halifax	12	0	0	James Parker, M.P., Robert McHugh, Herbert Clegg, Sam Horsfall, Mrs. Robinson.
Harrogate	1	11	6	
Haworth.. .. .				
Hebden Bridge	2	17	4	Frank Andrews, John Judson.
Heckmondwike	1	14	2	W. Crowther.
Holmfirth	5	3	0	Rev. W. B. Graham, T. S. Pickles.
Hemsworth	0	14	6	Isaac Burns.
Horbury	1	9	2	J. A. Palmer.
Hoyland Common.. .. .	2	9	4	

NAME OF BRANCH.	FEES PAID.			DELEGATE.
	£	s.	d.	
Huddersfield	25	0	0	Willie Hudson, James Green, George Anderson, Edgar Whiteley, Law Taylor, Willie Pickles, Ben Riley, J. W. Brierley, G. H. Greensmith, Frank Nunn.
Hull	4	10	0	Jas. Major, Wm. Gledhill.
Keighley	4	0	0	Wm. Bland, John W. Water- worth.
Kirkheaton	1	10	10	W. Stafford.
Leeds	10	2	0	Coun. John Badley, John Armstrong, William Mor- ley, Thos. Wm. Newlove, Walter Slater.
North Leeds				
Longwood	1	16	0	J. D. Sykes.
Luddenden Foot	1	4	10	
Malton				
Milnsbridge	7	11	0	Wm. H. Richardson, Joe William, Wilfred Haigh, Alfred Wood.
Mirfield				
Mopplewell & Staincross ..	0	2	0	
Morley	0	14	0	
Mytholmroyd	0	5	1	
New Mill	6	3	8	
Normanton	2	3	10	Coun. H. Barker, Steve North.
Ossett	0	16	1	
Otley	1	7	6	
Parkgate	1	5	0	
Penistone				
Pontefract	1	10	0	
Pudsey	5	0	0	J. Walker, J. Smith
Queensbury & Clayton ..	1	5	6	Irvine Smith.
Rastrick				
Rotherham	2	10	0	W. Sutcliffe.
Royston	0	8	9	A. Jones.
Scarborough	2	13	4	
Selby	0	18	0	
Sheffield	5	0	0	Coun. A. Barton, Coun. R. G. Murray.
Shipley	1	10	0	
Silsden	2	2	0	
Skelmanthorpe	1	4	0	Herbert Eastwood.
Skipton	1	4	6	A. M. Macintyre.
Sowerby	0	5	0	
Stairfoot & Ardsley ..	0	1	7	
Swinton	0	9	6	
Thirsk	0	5	2	
Thornhill Lees	2	10	0	Jim Rowley.
Thurstonland	3	4	7	Fred Gill, J. Walker White.
Todmorden	0	7	9	
Wakefield	2	1	0	John C. Hughes.
Wilsden	1	10	0	
Withernsea	0	4	4	Rev. R. W. Cumming.
Wombwell	1	11	6	A. J. Poiner.
Woodhouse Mill	0	0	8	

NAME OF BRANCH.	FEES PAID.	DELEGATE.
	£ s. d.	
Yeadon	1 11 0	H. Lockwood.
York	7 14 2	J. W. Hallaways, Coun. J. H. Hartley, J. W. Earnshaw.

DIVISION IV.

Aittrincham	0 10 6	G. Thompson.
Ashton	4 6 8	Richard Battersby, J. P. Crowther.
Ashton-in-Makerfield	0 4 0	
Aspatria	0 13 7	
Bacup		
Barnton	0 4 7	
Barrow	7 15 6	Mrs. Mills, G. Shaw, Junr.
Belfast—		
Belfast	1 17 0	W. Walker.
East Belfast	0 6 0	
North Belfast	1 7 2	
South Belfast	0 8 8	
Duncairn	0 16 0	
Birkenhead	2 4 9	J. A. Hancock, W. H. Car- penter.
Blackburn	9 0 0	H. E. Witard.
Blackpool C.F.	3 17 6	Stanley Derbyshire, R. Greenwood.
Bootle	1 5 0	
Bowness-on-Windermere		
Bredbury & Romiley	1 16 8	C. F. Douthwaite.
Brierfield	1 17 0	Mrs. Selina Cooper.
Broadbottom	0 12 0	E. Berry.
Great Broughton	0 9 6	
Burnley	2 5 0	Coun. H. Lees.
Carnarvon		
Carnforth	0 0 11	
Castleton	0 10 0	
Caton	0 3 9	
Cheadle & Gatley	0 1 0	
Chester	0 3 0	
Chorley	0 12 3	Coun. E. Sandham.
Cleaton Moor	0 14 9	
Clifton	0 3 0	
Cockermouth	0 12 6	
Colne	4 6 0	Robert Bury, E. Ashworth.
Congleton	0 1 6	
Coppull	0 8 5	
Crewe	8 6 2	Wm. William, Geo. Austin, W. F. Barnett, Miss A. Reeves.
Crompton	2 6 5	
Dalton-in-Furness	0 1 0	
Darwen	5 0 0	Fielding Clapham.
Dearham	0 9 4	
Denton	0 16 10	
Douglas, Isle of Man		
Droylsden	0 14 0	C. Hart
Dublin	0 10 0	J. Larkin.
Earlstown	1 13 8	

NAME OF BRANCH.	FEE PAID.	DELEGATE.
	£ s. d.	
Eccles	2 19 6	
Ellesmere Port		
Failsforth	1 13 0	W. R. Winter.
Farnworth	5 10 0	Hartley Lee.
Fleetwood	1 18 9	T. Taylor.
Flixton	3 0 4	
Golborne		
Greenfield		
Hale		
Harrington	0 3 0	T. Carter.
Heywood	3 0 0	
Hindley	0 3 0	A. Davies.
Hollingsworth & Tintwistle	2 3 4	Coun. R. Wratter, G. Mad -
Hollinwood	4 9 0	laine.
Horwich	0 15 0	
Hoylake		
Hyde	9 10 9	W. C. Anderson, W. H. Peck.
Irlam & Cadishead	0 13 9	
Kendal	2 9 3	J. Simcoe.
Kirkland		
Knutsford	0 5 8	
Lancaster	8 6 8	J. Hodgkinson.
Leeswood		
Levenshulme	1 13 4	W. Johnston.
Leyland	0 16 0	
Littleborough	2 16 10	J. W. Stott
Liverpool—		
Everton	2 7 9	F. Jones.
Garston	0 9 10	
Kensington		
Kirkdale	0 13 9	W. R. Blair.
Liverpool Central	5 10 0	W. J. Paul, S. Reeves.
Liverpool S.E.	1 9 6	F. Welland
Old Swan	0 6 2	
West Toxteth	1 10 0	
Llanwrst	0 5 9	
Llandudno		
Longridge	0 9 0	
Manchester—		
Manchester Central	1 12 0	S. Robinson
Ardwick, Manchester	1 10 0	
Blackley & Moston	2 10 0	
Chorlton-cum-Hardy	1 12 6	C. Forbes Keir.
Gorton	3 0 0	T. Goddard.
Longsight	1 3 0	G. Whittaker.
Manchester City	2 3 9	H. Dean, R. Wallhead.
East Manchester	1 10 0	H. Davies, A. Graham.
North Manchester	3 6 0	W. Jackson, G. Vowers.
North-West Manchester	0 3 10	
Miles Platting	2 0 0	A. Whitehead
Mossley	1 0 0	
Moss Side	0 5 0	
Mottram		
New Cross		
Woolton Heath	3 4 10	Coun. J. Rudge.
Woodhousefield	2 1 8	A. Tatton.

NAME OF BRANCH.	FEES PAID.	DELEGATE.
	£ s. d.	
Marple	0 13 11	J. McLachlan
Maryport	0 14 9	
Middleton	4 0 0	A. V. Davies, T. Coates.
Milnrow		
Moorside	0 12 6	
Morecambe	0 11 10	
Nantwich	1 4 4	
Nelson	5 0 0	John Spencer, John W. Gott, Miss H. M. Beanland.
New Ferry		
Northwich	0 17 0	F. Dalbert.
Openshaw	4 3 11	
Oldham	12 11 8	H. Chadderton, I. Crabtree, J. Heginbottom, H. Hen- shall, Miss J. Ogden, John Smith.
Ormskirk	0 5 0	
Pendlebury & Swinton ..	1 11 6	P. Lindley
Poulton-le-Fylde	0 4 4	
Poynton		
Preston	4 2 6	J. Leach, Russell Smart.
Prescott	1 19 7	Peter Davies.
Radcliffe	3 14 9	
Ramsbottom	3 0 7	C. H. Whitehall
Reddish	0 2 2	
Rhos	0 3 0	
Rishton	1 16 0	
Rochdale	2 0 0	
Royton	0 19 10	
Runcorn		
St. Helens	10 15 5	J. Francis, G. Gilman, W. Gee, J. H.. Standing, E. Houghton.
Sale	1 11 7	
North Salford	3 2 0	F. Coates, A. F. Dunkley.
Saltney	0 2 4	
Seaton		
Stalybridge	0 2 1	
West Salford	1 0 0	James Dudley.
Sandbach	0 2 6	
Flintshire S. Soc.	0 11 3	
Seacombe	2 8 9	
Shotton	0 2 4	
Springhead		
West Stanley	2 0 0	
Stockport	6 5 7	G. Linfoot, E. Clarke, J. Hill.
Tong & Brightmet		
Ulverston	0 6 1	
Wallasey	0 4 4	
Wallasey Village	0 1 0	J. Lunnon.
Walkden	6 0 0	W. M. Rogerson.
Walshaw	0 2 7	
Walton S.S.	0 15 0	
Warrington	5 0 0	Coun. F. Stott, J.P., H. Ward- man.
Westhoughton	0 12 0	
Whalley	0 12 6	

NAME OF BRANCH.	FEES PAID.	DELEGATE.
	£ s. d.	
Whitefield	1 19 4	Geo. Benson.
Widnes	0 12 1	
Wigan	3 18 8	J. Dobbie, N. Rimmer.
Wilmslow	0 15 2	
Winsford	0 2 0	
Workington	3 0 0	W. J. Hewitt.
Wrexham	2 15 0	

DIVISION V.

Aberavon	1 4 10	
Abercanaid		
Abercarn	0 9 7	Mrs. W. Field.
Abercynon	0 8 6	
Abercrave	0 3 6	
Aberdare Valley	6 14 8	Edward Davies, Miss F. R. Rees, W. Price.
Abergwynfi	0 3 9	
Abertillery	1 0 0	
Ammanford	0 2 1	
Barry	1 13 6	E. J. Taylor.
Bedlinog	0 15 0	Joseph Sparkes.
Blaenavon	0 12 6	
Blaina	0 11 4	W. Parry.
Brecon		
Briton Ferry	5 0 0	J. H. Thomas.
Bryn	0 16 6	
Brynaman	0 11 7	
Burry Port		
Caeran	1 4 0	Vernon Hartshorn.
Cardiff	8 0 0	E. L. Gillett.
Caerphilly	0 0 7	
Cefu	0 13 9	
Cpydach		
Clydach Vale	0 19 0	D. Evans.
Craigcefnparc	0 3 2	
Cwnavon	1 16 6	W. W. Price.
Cwmllynfell	0 1 4	
Gwys	0 13 10	D. W. Jenkins.
Dowlais	0 14 0	C. J. Griffiths.
Ebbw Vale	1 1 6	John Barber.
Ferndale	1 8 4	
Fishguard		
Garnant		
Garw Valley	0 5 0	S. Morgan.
Gilfach Goch		
Glais	0 13 2	
Glyn Neath		
Gowerton	1 11 5	T. Lewis.
Gwauncaegurwen	0 7 5	
Haverfordwest	0 5 3	
Llandudno		
Llanelly	0 15 0	
Llangenneck	0 2 0	
Llansamlet	0 8 9	
Maesteg	1 4 0	E. Edwards.
Maesycwmmmer	0 1 10	

NAME OF BRANCH.	FEES PAID.			DELEGATE.
	£	s.	d.	
Mardy	0	16	6	T. J. Evans.
Merthyr	1	12	2	
Milford Haven				
Mountain Ash	2	3	0	
Nantffyllon	0	6	5	
Nantyglo				
Narberth	0	5	10	
Neath	2	3	0	R. Neft.
Newport	1	3	0	H. E. Griffiths.
Ogmore Vale	1	7	0	B. Stephens
Pembroke Dock	0	10	0	
Penarth	0	16	7	J. Watt.
Penrhiwceiber	0	7	3	Rev. G. Neighbour
Pentre	1	4	4	
Penydarren	0	10	0	
Penycraig	0	16	0	E. Black.
Pontardawe	3	13	7	T. J. Davies.
Pontardulais	1	19	6	Mrs. Taylor,
Pontnewydd	0	15	10	Mrs. K. B. Glasier.
Pontypool	1	2	8	
Pontypridd	0	5	0	
Porth	0	12	6	
Risca	0	7	8	
Rogerston				
Skewen				
Saundersfoot				
Swansea	6	0	0	J. P. Benyon.
Taibach	1	17	0	
Tondu	3	1	0	W. Field.
Tonyrefail	0	2	6	
Tredegar	0	2	6	
Treharris	0	11	1	
Treherbert	0	3	5	
Troedyrhiw	0	11	11	J. D. Morgan.
Wattsville	0	12	1	Kendrick Burris.
Waunllwyd	0	3	5	G. Williams.
Ynysbwl	1	0	6	
Ystradygnlais	0	8	8	
Ystalyfera	2	7	2	E. L. Chappell.
Bath	0	6	0	A. H. Smith.
Bridgwater	0	6	11	R. C. K. Ensor.
Bristol	1	0	0	
Cheltenham	1	1	10	E. Telley.
Chippenham	0	5	0	
Coleford	0	0	11	
Glastonbury	0	2	9	W. Clissold
Gloucester	1	10	0	C. H. Fox.
Lydney	0	18	2	
Midsomer Norton	0	1	4	A. P. Grenfell.
Plymouth	2	11	0	Rev. J. H. Belcher, A. H. Orchard.
Poole & Branksome	0	10	8	
Portland	0	9	2	
Radstock	0	14	4	
Street	1	7	8	Percy Vinell.
Swindon	4	1	0	H. J. Vaisey.
Taunton	1	11	0	

NAME OF BRANCH.	FEES PAID.	DELEGATE.
	£ s. d.	
Torquay	0 17 11	F. E. Willis.
Trowbridge	0 3 4	
Wellington	0 15 0	
Weston-Super-Mare	0 2 0	
Weymouth	0 14 3	

DIVISION VI.

Alfreton	0 2 6	R. King.
Anstey	0 11 8	
Ashby	0 2 6	
Audley & District	0 5 0	
Baschurch	0 16 1	
Bedford	0 8 6	J. Beard.
Belper	0 7 0	
Birmingham—		
Acocks Green	0 2 0	
Aston	0 2 0	
Birchfield	2 10 0	H. McBrine.
Central Birmingham	0 6 0	
East Birmingham	2 0 6	
South Birmingham	0 7 0	
West Birmingham	0 4 0	
Rotton Park	0 5 0	G. Appleton.
Boston	0 2 0	
Brierley Hill	4 16 2	
Brimington	0 18 0	
Bromsgrove	0 19 10	
Broughton	0 14 9	R. Barratt, W. L. Burman.
Burslem	1 8 10	
Burton-on-Trent	10 16 8	
Butt Lane	13 16 5	
Buxton	0 6 3	
Chapel-en-le-Frith	1 0 0	H. Thorpe, J. Bennett.
Coalville	0 12 0	
Coventry C.F.	0 9 11	
Crich	0 1 6	
Darlaston	0 15 9	
Derby	0 6 10	J. D. Doyle.
Desborough	0 16 11	
Dudley	0 13 0	
East Kirkby	0 15 4	
Erdington	2 1 8	
Fenton	1 18 1	C. Whitehead. T. C. Morley. W. H. Beechener.
Gainsborough	0 10 6	
Glossop	0 5 7	
Grantham	0 18 3	
Grimsby	0 9 4	
Handsworth		
Hanley		
Harborne		
Hay Mills		
Heanor		
Hednesford		
Hinckley		
Holbrook		

NAME OF BRANCH.	FEES PAID.			DELEGATE.
	£	s.	d.	
Huthwaite	0	7	0	
Ibstock	0	9	1	
Ironbridge	0	5	4	
Kettering	2	2	0	J. Haynes.
Kidderminster	0	10	2	
King's Heath	1	0	7	
Kingswood				
Leek	1	0	10	A. Newall.
Leicester.. .. .	9	12	0	G. Hubbard, A. H. Reynolds, J. Peacock.
Lincoln	0	4	1	
Long Easton	2	12	0	C. B. Fawcett, W. Robbins.
Loughborough	0	7	11	
Ludlow	0	9	4	
Mansfield	1	7	10	J. J. Cantrill.
Market Harboro'	0	12	4	
Matlock C.F... .. .	0	16	10	
Measham	0	1	11	
Milton	0	6	8	
Mow Cop	0	13	4	
Netherfield	0	2	11	
New Brinsley	0	10	0	
New Mills & Hayfield ..	0	17	1	
Northampton... .. .				
Northfield	1	4	4	
Nottingham	8	9	10	T. A. Pierce, G. Wheatcroft, G. F. Berry.
Nuneaton	1	5	10	
Oadby	0	10	2	
Oakengates	0	1	0	
Oswestry	0	14	2	
Peterboro'	2	5	10	H. H. Thompson.
Quarry Bank... .. .				
Raunds	0	17	0	J. J. Potter
Redditch	1	12	6	
Ripley	0	15	10	
Rugby	0	3	10	
Scunthorpe	3	1	0	J. Quibell.
Selly Oak,	2	9	5	
Selston	0	1	3	
Shrewsbury	2	0	0	J. K. Morris.
Shirebrook				
Silverdale	0	4	5	
Sleaford	0	4	1	
Small Heath	1	16	0	R. MacDonald.
Smethwick	4	0	3	A. Morris, G. Ryder.
Sparkhill	0	11	1	
Sparkbrook	0	6	0	
Stafford	2	0	0	H. Wilkinson.
Stapleford	4	8	6	F. W. Dalley.
Stechford	0	5	2	
Stockingford	0	6	6	
Stoke-on-Trent	0	5	0	
Stratford-on-Avon	0	11	0	
Studley				
Sutton-in-Ashfield.. ..	0	9	2	
Swadlincote	2	13	7	

NAME OF BRANCH.	FEES PAID.			DELEGATE.
	£	s.	d.	
Tunstall	0	14	0	E. Bird.
Uttoxeter				
Walsall	1	18	10	
Warwick				H. Brockhouse.
Wednesbury	0	2	0	
Wellington	0	4	4	
West Bromwich	2	10	0	C. Crossland.
Wigston	0	2	0	
Wolverhampton	3	15	0	
Worcester	0	14	8	

DIVISION VII.

Abingdon	0	3	0	Mrs. A. E. Terrett.
Ashford	2	0	0	
Aylesbury	0	13	4	
Banbury	0	13	10	R. Higgs.
Beccles	0	5	7	
Bexley Heath	2	2	0	
Bicester	0	0	10	Mrs. Paul Campbell.
Bournemouth	0	6	9	
Braintree	0	17	9	
Brighton	1	8	4	Harold Murray.
Cambridge	0	13	7	
Cambridge University	0	10	0	
Canterbury	0	5	6	L. Spurgeon.
Chatham	0	17	4	
Chichester	0	2	11	
Dartford	0	7	0	S. J. Utley
Dover	1	10	0	
Erith	0	16	2	
Gillingham	1	1	4	Coun. W. Holmes, Coun. A. Dunnett, C. C. Lloyd, B.A., F. Henderson.
Godalming				
Gravesend	1	9	0	
Guildford	0	16	11	J. Fox.
Halstead	2	16	6	
Haslemere	1	8	8	
Hastings	0	1	4	J. G. Hagan.
Headington	0	5	0	
High Wycombe	0	16	6	
Horstead Keynes	0	13	8	Digitized by Google
Ipswich	4	3	4	
Isle of Thanet	0	13	2	
King's Lynn	2	4	10	
Lowestoft	1	12	6	
Maidenhead	0	5	6	
Maidstone	1	0	11	
Maldon and Heybridge ...	0	0	8	
Mayland	0	1	9	
Norwich	7	11	0	
Oxford	2	9	2	
Portsmouth	2	0	11	
Reading	1	4	7	
Reigate	0	12	0	

NAME OF BRANCH.	FEES PAID.	DELEGATE.
	£ s. d.	
Rochester	0 16 6	
Sheerness	1 4 5	
Sidcup	0 11 7	Miss R. Gardner.
Southampton	1 8 0	
Stantonbury	1 0 10	
Tonbridge	0 16 6	
Gt. Yarmouth	0 15 10	Mrs. Henderson.
Acton	0 14 4	J. F. Shillaker.
Balham	0 3 4	R. Young.
Battersea	1 8 9	
Bethnal Green	1 1 0	C. M. Lloyd.
Bow & Bromley	1 16 0	G. Lansbury.
Brixton	2 0 7	
Camberwell	2 7 4	
Chelsea	0 3 11	
Chiswick	2 10 2	Miss Healy.
Clapham	2 10 0	R. Henderson, J. S. Middleton.
Croydon	3 7 6	T. Jordan.
Deptford	0 12 11	
Dulwich	0 10 9	Mrs. M. Moore.
Ealing	2 2 0	H. Romeril.
East Ham	5 10 4	G. P. Dean, G. Harraway.
Lower Edmonton	0 2 0	
Enfield Lock	0 19 11	W. R. Dowsett.
Fulham	3 0 5	J. Spencer.
Hammersmith	4 4 6	J. Mylles.
W. Hampstead and Kilburn		
Hanwell		
Harrow	1 5 6	
Hornsey	0 1 2	
Hounslow		
Islington	2 10 6	J. Hirst, F. Montague.
Kennington	0 10 0	
Kensal Rise	1 0 0	G. S. Parsons.
N. Kensington	1 11 3	
Kilburn		
North Lambeth	0 5 8	Frank Smith. L.C.C.
Lewisham	0 18 4	
Leyton	1 11 8	E. Trayner.
Marylebone	0 6 0	
New Southgate	0 8 11	
Paddington & Queen's Park	1 2 0	
Poplar Labour League ..		
Richmond	0 13 8	
St. Pancras	1 0 2	
St. Pancras South	1 7 0	J. H. Harley.
Southwark	1 0 2	S. Albery
Stepney	0 14 9	T. E. Williams.
Stoke Newington	2 0 4	C. E. Catford.
Streatham	1 6 8	J. Leahey.
Thornton Heath	1 10 0	
Tooting	1 1 0	C. N. L. Shaw.
Tottenham	1 8 0	
Walthamstow	2 10 0	Paul Campbell.
North-West Ham	1 12 4	G. Saunders Jacobs.
South-West Ham	2 10 0	T. Lethaby

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NAME OF BRANCH.	FEES PAID.			DELEGATE.
	£	s.	d.	
Wandsworth	1	1	8	
Watford	2	16	0	
Westminster	2	12	11	R. Harvey, F. W. Penfold.
Willesden	2	9	2	C. Hawkes.
Woodford				
Wood Green	1	8	10	
Woolwich	6	8	7	Rev. L. Jenkins Jones.

Directory of I.L.P. Members.

PARLIAMENT.

Blackburn—Philip Snowden, 10, Baron's Court road, W., Kensington
 Bradford—F. W. Jowett, 2, Grantham place, Halifax
 Halifax—James Parker, 22, Salisbury place, Halifax
 Leicester—J. Ramsay MacDonald, 3, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London
 Manchester, N.E.—J. R. Clynes, 176, Union street, Oldham
 Merthyr Tydfil—J. Keir Hardie, 14, Neville's court, Fleet street, London
 Sunderland—Thos. Summerbell, 14, Vincent street, Sunderland
 Colne Valley—Victor Grayson, 46, Stockwell Park road, S.W.

ELECTIVE AUDITORS.

Aberavon—F. E. Baker, 21, Pentyla, Aberavon
 Barrow—J. Morrall, Holker street, Barrow
 Batley—Joseph Richardson, Brearley street
 Bradford—A. W. Goodison, 206, Gladstone street, Bradford
 Brighouse—E. Laphish, 12, Harriet street, Brighouse
 Croydon—A. R. Arnott, 35, Torridge road, Thornton Heath
 East Ham—E. K. Hine, 398, High street, North, East Ham.
 Halifax—M. J. Blatchford, 10, Park view, Halifax
 Hyde—Walter Fowden, 3, Hamnett street
 Keighley—J. W. Waterworth, 48, Catherine street, Keighley
 Kendal—W. Hewertson
 Leeds—Leonard Verity, 38, County Arcade, Leeds
 Leicester—H. H. Peach, 37, Belvoir street, Leicester
 Liverpool—G. Barker, 55, Premier street, Everton, Liverpool
 Middleton—John Reilly, Sandy lane, Middleton
 Ossett—G. H. Fothergill, Royds House, Station road, Ossett
 Rotherham—S. Hall, Lister street
 St. Helens—G. Francis, 125, Speakman road
 Widnes—Prof. F. J. Ainsley, Victoria road, Widnes
 Wigan—W. H. Naylor, 111, Dicconson street

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

PARISH COUNCILS IN SCOTLAND.

Abercarn—J. Davies, 38, Gwyddon road
 Abertillery—Emlyn Evans, 25, Gladstone street
 " John Phillips, Adam street
 Alloa—John Ketterick, Devon square, Alloa
 Arbroath—Allan Irons, 55, High street
 Ashton—Mrs. G. Mitchell, Elizabeth street
 Aston—Mrs. G. Williams, 29, Warren road, Saltley
 " J. Beard, 15, Bennett's road, Saltley
 " W. H. Ayles, 184, Kenelm road, Small Heath
 " H. Simpson, Philimore road, Saltley

- Atcham—J. K. Morris, Port Hill Gardens, Shrewsbury
 „ F. Smout, 2, Albert street, Shrewsbury
 Barnsley—, Lang, Beech street
 Barrhead—Robert Murray
 „ William Tait
 „ Isaac Gillespie
 „ Andrew Murray
 Barrow—Archibald Barrie
 „ J. Morrall, 37, Holker street
 „ Irving Dawson, 31, Brighton street
 „ Chas. G. B. Ellison
 „ A. McConnell, 17, Afton street
 Batley—Mrs. Ann Oldham, Track Quarry
 Bonhill—R. Millar, Avenue place, Main street, Alexandria, N.B.
 „ G. Stewart, Middleton street, Alexandria, N.B.
 Bothwell—Moses Harvie, Jubilee Row
 „ T. Sullivan, "Lindams Cottage," Uddingston
 „ Thos. Hamilton, Alpine terrace, Uddingston
 Brechin—William Dalgetty, 200, Montrose street
 „ George Henderson
 Bristol—G. Thompson, Lawrence Hill, Bristol
 „ G. F. Jones, 66, Coburg road, Ashley Hill
 Burslem & Wolstanton—Fred Hayward, Tellwright street, Burslem
 Burton-on-Trent—George Lowe, 174, Bearwood Hill road
 Camberwell—J. Gunning, 17, Cicely road, Peckham
 Cardiff—James Henson, 31A, Dock View road, Barry
 „ George Coles, Newland street, Barry
 Carlisle—William McFarlane, High street
 Chapel-en-le-Frith—J. Bruce Glasier
 Chester—W. Williams, 30, Garden lane, Chester
 Cheshire—John Ace, Lonna road, Cheshire
 Chorlton—J. McGrane, Wellington street, Gorton
 „ Mrs. Garrett, Princess road, Manchester
 Clutton—J. Holvey, New Buildings, Peasdown St. John's, Bath
 Clydebank—Sholto D. Shaw, 50, Radnor street
 „ John B. Walker, 98, Kilbowie road
 Cockerham—Mrs. G. A. Brown, Gray street, Workington
 „ E. Howell, 41, Victoria road, Workington
 „ J. McArthur, Workington
 „ J. Fearon, 41, Cumberland street, Workington
 „ J. Weightman, 44, Napier street, Workington
 „ Ald. P. Walls, Westfield, Workington
 Colne—E. Harrison, 8, Derby street
 Coventry—Mrs. E. Allen, Walsgrave road
 „ Mrs. S. A. Griffiths, 3, Clarence street
 „ J. Cheshire, Somerset road
 „ G. Milner, Oxford street
 „ H. R. Farren
 Croydon—H. A. Sidey, 31, Clarence road
 Cwmavon—Wyndham Edwards, The Terrace, Cwmavon, Glam.
 Dalmellington—John Graham, Love Cottage
 „ Robt. Gault, Main street
 Dalry—Peter Muir, James street, Dalry, N.B.
 Dewsbury—Mrs. Oldham, Track road, Batley
 Doncaster—W. Crawford, 60, Abbott street
 Edinburgh—John Hood
 Edmonton—Rev. Tom Collins, 84, Silver street
 Fleetwood—Hartley Lee, Poulton road
 Flockton—George Tindall

- Gateshead—T. Peacock, 28, Ellison street
 „ Geo. Smith, Kenmir street, Felling
 „ W. Golightly
 Glasgow—J. Stewart, 124, Stirling road, St. Rollox
 „ Robert Girvan, 49, Kelvinside Avenue
 Gloucester—S. T. Davies, 30, Jersey road
 Golcar—Edmund Hirst, Scar lane
 Gorton—J. McCrane, 22, Wellington street, Gorton
 Govan—John Hill 208, Langlands road, S. Govan
 „ J. R. McDiarmid, 133, Cathcart street, Glasgow
 „ T. H. Hill, 10, Hutchieson street, Govan
 „ J. Stewart, Park road, Giffnock
 Grimsby—Mrs. Minnie D. Cooper, 59, Weelsby street.
 „ Rev. J. K. Archer, 10, Heneage road
 Halifax—Wm. Smith, 4, Chester place
 „ Paul Lambert, 4, Fixby Avenue, Pye Nest
 „ W. H. Broadbent, 6, Royd place
 Hanley—Mrs. Clara Morris, 20, Wellington road
 Harrogate—E. Hall, Spring Lea, New Park
 „ Mrs. Palmer, 3, Bower road
 Hemsworth—W. O. Bull, Holly Bank
 „ A. Goddard, 7, Centre street
 Holbeck (Leeds)—A. Bannister, 8, Leyburn Terrace, Beeston Hill, Leeds
 Huddersfield—W. Wheatley, 9A, Northumberland street
 „ Eli Brearley, 7A, Rock street, Longwood
 „ James Lodge, 5, Spring Mill, Milnsbridge
 „ T. N. Bentley, Greenside, Dalton
 „ George Brown, Laverack, Dalton
 „ Tom Bamforth, Britannia Road, Slaithwaite
 „ France Littlewood, Grove House, Honley
 „ Edmund Hirst, Scar Lane, Golcar.
 „ Joe Tyas, Croft House, Skelmanthorpe
 „ Mrs. Hewitt, West View, Grange Moor
 Hull—Gaunt, 48, St. Matthews street, Hull
 Hyde—Ethel M. Dawson, The Parsonage, Gee Cross
 Ipswich—S. Foulgar, Broomhill road
 „ E. Brooks, 21, St. Helen's street
 Keighley—Mrs. M. J. Waterworth, 48, Catherine street
 „ Mrs. M. J. Stansfield, St. Peter's Vicarage
 „ W. Smith, 48, Queen's road
 Kendal—W. Hewertson
 Kettering—R. Ryan, Town Band Club
 „ Mrs. M. Farmer, St. Peter's Avenue
 Kilwinning—Provost J. B. Hamilton, 97, Main street
 „ R. Smith, Garnock view
 King's Norton—Herbert Wilson, 15, St. Paul's avenue, Balsall Heath
 „ H. Whittaker
 Kirkintilloch—J. Connell, Kerr street
 Lanark—E. Baillie Henry Murphy, J.P.
 Lanchester—J. E. Swan
 „ T. Wood, 8, George street, Stanley
 „ H. Bainbridge, 18, Simpson street, Stanley, R.S.O.
 Larkhall—R. Smillie, Miller street
 Leeds—A. Bannister, 8, Leyburn Terrace, Beeston Hill
 Leicester—Miss M. J. Bell, 43, Western road
 „ A. Sheriff, 39, Belgrave road
 „ D. McCarthy, 49, Derwent street
 „ W. Taylor, 53, Ash street
 „ W. J. Moore, Adair villa, Lothair road
 „ G. W. Moore, 92, Dunton street

- Leicester—J. T. Barrett, 73, Wharfe street
 „ T. H. Bedford, 73, Upper Kent street
 „ E. H. Pinchbeck, 66, Bakewell street
 „ W. Illson, 161, Brandon street
 „ H. W. Hallam, 328, Humberstone road
 „ J. R. Kelly, 29 Cromer street
 „ J. L. Harrison, 40, Queen's road
 „ J. S. Salt, 13, Erskine street
 Leith—E. Briggs, 33, Commercial street
 „ J. H. Douglas, St. Andrew's street
 Llanelly—Wm. Pugh
 Lochgelly—Michael Adams, 37A, Gardiner street
 „ Michael Lee, Auchterderran road
 Lowestoft—Mrs. Alice Ponder, "Waldo," Kirkley Park road, Lowestoft
 „ Jo. Harris, 60, Roman road, Lowestoft
 „ C. Triggs, Garfield Temperance Hotel, Lowestoft
 Macclesfield—Mrs. Ada W. Pimblott, 13, Beech lane
 Malling—J. Hawkes, 76 London road, Maidstone
 Maesteg—Francis Cox, 92, Bridgend road
 Merthyr—H. Hiley, 27, Cyfortha lane, Merthyr
 „ Wm. Harris, 16, Norman terrace, Merthyr
 „ T. T. Jenkins, Chapel street, Abescanaid
 „ David Davies, 5, Pant cottages, Pant, Dowlais
 „ Hugh Jones, Pleasant view, Walter street, Dowlais
 „ John Prowle, Co-operative cottages, Aberdare
 „ Meth. Davies, 2, Seion terrace, Cwmbach, Aberdare
 „ Thomas Andrews, Brynteg terrace, Treharris
 Middlesbrough—F. Carey, 16, Wentworth street
 Morpeth—R. Gilbertson, 130, Pont street, Seaton Hirst
 „ G. R. Patterson, New road, Seaton Hirst
 Muirkirk—Alex. Wallace, Co-operative Buildings
 Musselburgh—James Young, 25, Market street
 „ Joseph Young, 104, North street
 „ W. Heron, Lochend High
 „ J. Gillen, King street
 Narberth—T. Williams, Whitlands
 Nelson—Mrs. Aldersley, Manchester road
 Newcastle-on-Tyne—W. Wood, 70, Longley street
 „ Robt. J. Lewis, 46, James street, Elswick
 „ J. Pearson, 55, Mowbray street
 „ E. J. Smith, 121, Helen street, Benwell
 „ Thos. B. Wright, 168, Simonside terrace, Heaton
 Newport—Benjamin Cort, 32, Vivian road
 „ Susan Travers, 11, David street
 „ John Davies, 38, Gwyddon road, Abercarn
 North Brierley—Ester Sandiforth, The Shop, Wrose Hill, Shipley
 „ John Law
 Norwich—A. R. Jermy, 95, Connaught road, Norwich
 „ H. A. Jenkins, 17, Northcote road, Norwich
 Ogmores Valley—E. Edwards, Ogmores Vale
 Pontefract—J. Wood, St. Nicholas street, Castleford
 Pontypridd—N. Tromans, 5, Eva street, Mountain Ash
 Pontypool—James Morgan, Stanley road, Garndiffaith
 Poplar—Mrs. Cordery, 74, Devas street, Bromley-by-Bow
 „ Mrs. Scurr, 14, Woodstock road, Poplar
 „ Ald C. E. Summer, 61, Knapp road, Bromley
 „ T. Payne, 7, Bowen street, Bromley
 „ G. Lansbury, 103, St. Stephen's road, Bow
 Prescott—T. Hamblett, J.P., 38, Westfield street, St. Helens
 Preston—Christopher Parkinson, 36, Calverley street, Preston

- Radcliffe—John Bridge
 Reigate—Mrs. G. R. S. Taylor, Clears Corner
 „ J. Madden, 20, Priory road
 Rochdale—J. W. Stott, 2, Sutcliffe street, Littleborough
 Rotherham—Mrs. Page, Fitzwilliam road
 „ T. L. Addy, 186, Effingham street
 „ J. B. Winterbottom, 51, Milton road
 „ E. W. Dawson, 46, Albany street
 „ Isaac Morgan, 232 Canklow road
 „ S. Featherstone, Bear Tree road, Parkgate
 „ R. Potter, 81, Hope street
 Rutherglen—Alex. Muir, 9, Mitchell street
 „ R. Young, 235, King street
 „ J. Wilson, Chapel street
 Salford—Mrs. S. Hayes, 60, Highfield road, Seedley
 Saltcoats—J. Ross, 58, Canal street
 „ C. McCulloch, " Eastfield," Gladstone road
 Scarborough—G. F. Stubbs, 53, Gordon street
 Shildon—J. Peacock, 14, Wesley crescent, Shildon
 Shotts—T. Gibbs
 Skelton—W. Walker, 7, Wharton street, North Skelton
 „ James Braithwait, 3, High street, Boosbeck
 Solihull—F. Spires, Yardley road, Acock's Green, Birmingham
 „ T. Fathers, 32, Blackford road, Sparkhill
 „ H. P. Holloway, 158, Barrows road, Sparkhill
 „ E. T. Mills, 83, Grove road, Sparkhill
 South Shields—J. Batey, J.P., 10, Clifton street
 „ T. Toll, 133, Hyde street
 „ Fenwick E. Bell, Cuthbert street, Hebburn
 Southwark—Mrs. A. Albery, 19, Temple street, Southwark, S.E.
 Stockport—J. Baguley, 12, Moscow road East
 „ A. Glitheroe, 3, Lowfeld road
 Stockton—J. Clarkson, 38, Inkerman street
 Sunderland—J. Hodgson, Hartley's Buildings
 Swansea—T. Howells, Socialist Centre, Alexandra road
 „ J. Miller „ „
 „ W. Owen „ „
 „ D. Richards „ „
 „ T. Williams „ „
 Tarbolton—James Brown, Ann Bank, Ayrshire
 Thornhill Lees—W. Douglas, Dale street, Thornhill Lees, near Dewsbury
 Todmorden—Mrs. Greenwood, Ashleigh, Hebden Bridge
 Tondur—Rev. D. G. Rees, 83, Grove road, Bridgend
 „ W. Lewis, 5, Broadview, Tondur, Aberkenfig
 Wakefield—W. Finnigan, Hatfield street
 Warrington—Mrs. M. J. Wilkinson, 222, Orford lane
 Watford—W. H. Syme, 4, High street
 „ Mrs. G. L. M. Gorle, 4, High street
 Weardale—M. Lee, Front street, Frosterley
 West Ham—Mrs. Baldock, 10, Eclipse road, Canning Town
 Whishton—T. Hamblett, J.P., 38, Westfield street, St. Helens
 Willington—Rev. D. Pugh, Wesley Manse, Willington, Durham
 „ Jos. Monkhouse, Clarence terrace, Willington
 Wombwell—Mrs. E. Spittlehouse, New street
 Woolwich—Mrs. Gine, 98, Brewery road, Plumstead
 „ W. Clarke, 47, Villas road, Plumstead
 „ C. H. Grinling, 17, Rectory place, Woolwich

COUNTY COUNCILS.

- Cumberland—Ald. P. Walls, Westfield, Mossbay road, Workington
 Durham—T. Richardson, 6, Co-op. terrace, New Washington
 „ R. Richardson, Miners' Buildings, Ryhope
 „ T. Robson, Castletown
 „ J. Robson, Ushaw Moor
 „ Geo. Robson, Ethel terrace, Castletown, Sunderland
 „ G. A. Brown, 5, West End terrace, Willington
 „ J. Hopper, Burn Grove, Low Fell, Gateshead
 „ Robert Barron, Commerical street, Cornsay Colliery, Durham
 „ John Lazenby, Arthur street, Hebburn Colliery
 „ J. Herritts, Middlestone Moor, Bishop Auckland
 „ G. A. Brown, 5, West End terrace, Willington
 Glamorgan—Dr. Thomas, Nantymoel
 „ Harry Davies, 8, London terrace, Cwmavon, Port Talbot
 „ James, Jones, 67, Holton road, Barry
 Kent—W. Ling, "Iolanthe," Larner road, Erith
 London—Alderman W. Sanders, 18, Brynmaer road, Battersea
 „ Frank Smith, 10, Clifford's Inn, E.C.
 Monmouthshire—J. Winstone, Park view, Pontnewynydd
 Peterboro'—G. S. Palmer, 88, Crown street, New England, Peterboro'
 Yorks, North Riding—J. B. Stubbs, 26, Dale street, New Marske
 „ West Riding—D. Hardaker, Fernroyd, Brighouse
 „ „ H. Horner, 50, Belgrave road, Keighley
 „ „ H. Smith, 14, Middle Oxford street, Castleford
 „ „ G. S. Palmer, 88, Crown street, New England
 Glasgow—David Wardley, 20, Hutton Drive, S. Govan

PARISH COUNCILS.

- Adel—Isabella O. Ford, Adel Grange, near Leeds
 „ Alfred Greenwood, Adel Grange Lodge, near Leeds
 Arnside—T. Wilkinson, Arnside, Carnforth
 Birtley—Thos. Neville, Jones street, Birtley, R.S.O.
 „ M. H. Winter, Jones street, Birtley
 Boldon Colliery—W. J. Hartshorne, 45, West terrace
 „ A. Franks, 25, West terrace
 „ J. Summerbell, 52, Davison street
 Brierfield—H. Stanworth, Quaker Bridge
 Carlton Miniott—A. Lofthouse, Carlton Miniott, Thirsk
 Chester-le-Street—J. Jacques
 Conisbro—Ellis Brooke, 89, Park Road
 „ John Hirst, Chapel lane
 „ C. Keys, Doncaster road
 „ Sylvester C. Urch, 33, March street
 Cockfield—T. Davis
 „ F. Buttle
 „ Hy. Dunning
 Cornsay—Robert Barron, Commercial street, Cornsay Colliery, Durham.
 „ Henry Barron, Office street, Cornsay Colliery
 „ John Henderson, Liddle street, Cornsay Colliery
 Cwmavon—James Davies, Cunard terrace, Cwmavon, Glam.
 „ Dd. Jones, 10, Park row, Cwmavon, Glam.
 „ J. I. Morgan, 5, Park row, Cwmavon, Glam.
 „ Urias Griffiths, 17, Church Square, Cwmavon, Glam.
 „ Wm. Davies, 10, Copper row, Cwmavon, Glam.

- Danehill—G. Etherton, Danehill, Uckfield
 „ J. H. Wickens, Danehill, Uckfield
 „ E. Langridge, Danehill, Uckfield
 Dearham—James Brannen, Wilson street, Dearham, Cumberland
 „ J. J. Brown, Dearham, „
 „ Joshua Cowan, Solway view, Dearham, „
 „ M. Falcon, Main street, Dearham, „
 „ Geo. McMaster, Main street, Dearham, „
 „ J. Nicholson, Main street, Dearham, „
 „ George Nicholson, Ghyll Bank, Dearham, „
 Edmondsley—H. Farrar
 „ H. Lamph
 Elstree—Frank De Ath, Holme Lea, Boreham Wood
 Ferryhill—J. Vickerstaff, Newton street, Dean Bank
 „ T. Parker
 Flintshire—Edward H. Tippet, Mayfield, Sandycroft
 Fulwell—J. Levitt, 3, Sea View terrace, Fulwell
 „ J. Stewart, 124, Stirling road, Fulwell
 Great Houghton—G. Walker, Old Mill lane
 Gowerton—W. Morgans, Stervy road
 Headington, Oxford—F. P. Brown, "Wonderklip," Headington
 Hemsworth—J. Barrett, Bond street, Kinsley
 „ Hy. Goddard, 28, Town street
 „ J. J. Green, 28, Bond street, Kinsley
 Hunwick—Joseph Hook, Hunwick, Willington, Co. Durham
 „ M. D. Edgar, Hunwick, Willington, „
 Hylton—R. Lawson, 27, Park street, Castletown
 „ J. T. Willcock, 25, Barron street, Castetown
 Ipswich—S. Jay, Rushmere, nr. Ipswich
 Langley Park—G. W. Wilkinson
 „ G. E. Johnson
 Linthorpe—John Bower, Oswald terrace, Linthorpe, Middlesbrough
 Llangonoyd—Hy. Colledge
 Mangotsfield, nr. Bristol—J. H. La Trobe, Downend, nr. Bristol
 Marchwiell, Denbighshire—Jos. Treakly, 2, Grove terrace
 Monmouth—J. Winstone, Park view, Pontnewynynd
 Murton Colliery—William Laws
 „ William Doxford
 New Marske—J. B. Stubbs, 26, Dale street, New Marske-by-Sea
 Norland—J. Wadsworth, "Moorland Cottage," Norland
 Nutfield, Surrey—W. J. Stanley, South Nutfield
 Odd Rode, Cheshire—Willmer, The Schoolhouse, Mow Cop, Stoke-on-Trent
 Pelton—T. Wishart
 „ J. R. Mole
 Poulton—James Norman
 Pinvin—J. T. Coates, Church Farm, Pinvin, Pershore
 Rotherham—H. Pursehouse, Whinny Hill
 „ H. Green, Thryburgh
 Ryhope—R. Richardson, Miners' Buildings
 „ G. Clark, 7, Railway street
 „ David Forbes, 74, Railway street
 Rhynwyd Clydach—Abraham Jones, Secretary I.L.P.
 Sandiacre—J. T. White, 23, Horace Avenue, Sandiacre
 Seaton Hirst—John Jobson, Church terrace, Seaton Hirst, via Morpeth
 Shirebrook—J. Spencer, York road, Shirebrook
 „ J. Bullars, 9, Langwith road, Shirebrook
 Shiremoor—R. Fyfe, Benton square
 Skelton—Wm. Templeman, 35, William street, North Skelton
 Southowram—W. A. Rawlinson, Church street, Southowram, nr. Halifax

- Stapleford**—F. W. Grundy, Ivy Cottage, Stapleford
 „ W. W. Lilley, Highfield, Stapleford
Steeton—W. H. Scott, 1, School street, Steeton, nr. Keighley
 „ Hiram Smith, Wood street, Steeton, nr. Keighley
Tideswell—T. Hartle, Queen's street
Tinsley—Hiram Trotter, 10, Siemen's road, Tinsley, Sheffield
Tondu—E. Davies, Coytrahene
 „ R. Williams, Coytrahene
 „ J. Squire, Box Cottage, Coytrahene
 „ P. Squire, Box Cottage, Coytrahene
 „ A. E. Pearcey, 48, Bridgend road, Aberkenfig
 „ D. Phillipps, Rock street, Aberkenfig
Tondu—T. Mountjoy, Bryn road, Ynisawdre
Trimdon Colliery—William Moore, 6, Luke street
Upton St. Leonards, Glo'ster—C. H. Fox, "The Breezes"
Urpeth—R. Hewison, 86, John street, Beamish, R.S.O.
 „ W. Jackson, Beamish, R.S.O.
 „ A. Balmforth, Eden Back row, Beamish, R.S.O.
 „ R. Nicholson, Eden terrace, Beamish, R.S.O.
 „ J. W. Stephenson, Eden terrace, Beamish, R.S.O.
Urpeth—H. Sharpe, Wood row, Twizele
 „ T. Dodd, Wood row, Twizele
Usworth—W. P. Richardson, Railway terrace, Usworth Colliery
 „ J. Ramshaw, Middle row
 „ J. Laird, New road, New Washington
 „ G. Nicholson, Station road, Usworth
 „ W. Shaw, Manor view, New Washington
 „ M. Hann, Coxon's row, Usworth Colliery
 „ M. Bolam, Coxon's row, Usworth Colliery
 „ Jno. Farnish, New rows, New Washington
 „ J. R. Elliott, Fern House, New Washington
Washington—Jas. Hall, Washington Station
Weardale—G. Gregory, Kiln House, Frosterley
West Wycombe—W. Sears
 „ J. Ing, Wheeler End
 „ J. Pearce
Witton Gilbert—Chas. Cornell, Elliot street, Sacriston
 „ J. G. Carr, "Craiglands," Sacriston
Ystradgynlais—W. Thomas, Glantawe cottages
 „ W. Rosser, Church terrace
 „ John Davies, Penrhos, Ystradgynlais

TOWN COUNCILS.

- Aberavon**—D. Rees, 5, Thomas street
 „ F. B. Smith, Pentyla
Arbroath—Alex. Smith, Hamilton green
Armadales—W. Forrester, West Main street
 „ Hugh Clarkson, North street
Ashton—R. A. Barrett, Bentinsh street
Banbury—H. Payne, Ivy Dene, Queen street
 „ W. Timms, Duke street
Barnsley—C. Bray, Sheffield road
Barrow—A. McConnell, 17, Afton street
 „ A. Peters, 144, Hartington street
Barrowford—R. Hargreaves, Barrowford
Batley—Alderman Ben Turner, Weavers' Office
 „ Bryham Kirkby, 5, Walker's mount, Batley
 „ Richard Sharples, Leeds road, Brownhill, Batley
 „ Thos. Warburton, 4, Taylor street
 „ Herbert Sykes, 4, Cullingworth street

- Battersea—Lane, 42, Loughedge street, Battersea, S.W.
 Bedford—J. W. Seamark, 6, Peel street
 Blackburn—Chas. Higham, Victoria street
 „ J. T. Ward, 72, Peter street
 Blackpool—A. Laycock, Glenndinning, Beechfield avenue, Blackpool
 „ J. Critchley, 14, Braithwaite street
 Bootle—A. W. Short, 8, Brook road
 „ J. Clark, 1, Smyrna road
 Bradford—Ald. J. Hayhurst, 648, Cliffe Mount, Bolton road
 „ Ald. C. L. Robinson, 44, Abingdon street
 „ A. Priestman, 4, Farcliffe road
 „ F. W. Jowett, M.P., 4, Grantham place
 „ J. H. Palin, 161, Rushton road
 „ G. Minty, 27, Rawson square
 „ E. R. Hartley, 1A, James street
 „ C. A. Glyde, 3, Bridge road
 „ A. Heaton, Grange terrace, Allerton
 Brechin—William Dalgetty, 200, Montrose street
 „ George Henderson
 Brighouse—J. Pickersgill, Barton street
 „ D. Hardaker, Fernroyd
 „ G. E. Fawthrop, John street
 „ T. Bottomley, Hove Edge
 „ J. W. Taylor, Bond street
 Bristol—Frank Freeman, 19, Westminster road, Whitehall
 „ Ald. J. Curle, 133, Wells road, Totterdown
 „ A. E. Ellery, 21, King Square, avenue
 „ W. Whitefield, Victoria Buildings, St. George's
 Burnley—Henry Lees, 25, Ennismore street
 Clydebank—John H. McKenzie, 1, Livingstone street
 „ Samuel McDonald, 1, Baronial terrace
 Colne—E. Harrison, 8, Derby street
 Coventry—S. G. Poole, 20, Holyhead road
 „ G. E. Keighley, Mable street
 „ J. White, Chapel street
 „ G. T. Whittam, Higgin street
 Crewe—W. Williams, 6, Saunders street
 „ W. Barnett, 9, Bulkley street
 „ T. Kelsall, 6, Nile street
 „ J. Williams, 5, Bridle road
 „ F. Hemmings, Beech street
 Croydon—H. A. Sidey, 31, Clarence road
 Darlington—Alf. Reed, 24, Dundee street
 Darvel—G. Lochore, Donington street
 „ Jas. Muirhead, Main street
 Deptford—W. Sheehan, 91, St. Donnatts' road, New Cross, S.E.
 Dundee—J. Carnegie, The Nook, Barry, Dundee
 „ Rev. W. Walsh
 Eccles—A. Farnie, J.P., 390, Liverpool road, Patricroft
 Fulham—Ald. J. Clarke, 59, Garvan road, Fulham, S.W.
 Elgin—James Ritchie, 1, Lossie Wynd
 Gateshead—W. Sykes, 282, High street
 Gateshead—Frank Drummond, 21, Cuthbert street
 Gillingham (Kent)—J. S. Chapman, 51, Seaview road
 „ C. A. Hill, 8, Sidney road
 „ A. W. Tapp, 104, Windmill road
 Glasgow—J. Alston, Holmhead cottage, Cathcart
 „ Peter G. Stewart, 518, Victoria road
 Govan—W. Munro, 125, Renfrew road
 „ John Reid, 3, Windsor terrace, South Govan

- Halifax—Jennings Sowood, 33, Horley Green road
 „ Robt. Morley, 11, Laura street
 „ A. Broadley, 9, High Grove place
 „ A. Taylor, 32, Skircoat green
 „ T. G. Le Dieu, Copley hall
 „ W. Smith, 4, Chester place
 Hammersmith—Dr. W. A. Davidson, 235, Uxbridge road, Shepherd's Bush
 Hanley—W. Wayte, Wellington road
 Hartlepool—Will Sherwood, 2, Lumley square
 Heywood—J. W. Ogden, J.P., Grosvenor street
 Huddersfield—W. Wheatley, 9a, Northumberland street
 „ W. Pickles, 70, Blackhouse road, Fartown
 „ B. Riley, 32, Springdale avenue
 „ H. Thomas, "Clough House," Halifax Old Road
 „ Law Taylor, Elm Bank, Deighton
 Hull—F. W. Booth, 72, Lambert street, Hull
 „ A. Gould, 5, Laurel Grove, Park road, Hull
 Hyde—Ald. S. Knowles, Mayor, Chapel street
 „ W. Gee, Lumm street
 Kendal—T. A. Watts
 Kensington—D. Carvell, 25, West row, North Kensington
 „ H. Forster, 54, Acklam road, „
 „ Jarrett, 66, Bevington road „
 „ G. W. Morley, 123, Lancaster road „
 „ G. E. O'Dell, 21, Highlever road „
 „ C. Shepherd, 44, Hewer street „
 Kilmarnock—Tom McKerrel, Craigie road, Riccarton
 „ R. Climie, 14, North Hamilton street
 „ Tom Smith, 3, Victoria terrace, Kilmarnock
 Kilwinning—Provost Hamilton
 „ R. Smith, Garnock view
 Kirkintilloch—D. Jack, 6, Donaldson street
 Lambeth—C. Iremonger, 19, Kenchester street, Wilcox road
 Leeds—G. Layton, 11, Ivy Grove, Victoria avenue
 „ T. C. Wilson, 12, Alfred Place, Camp road
 „ Walt. Wood, Hill Top Farm, York road
 „ J. Badley, 6, Preston terrace, Roundhay
 „ J. D. Macrae, 40, Winfield mount, Blackman lane
 Johnstone—M. Miller, 2, Bankside avenue, Johnstone, N.B.
 Leicester—Alderman G. Banton, 19, St. Margaret street
 „ J. Chaplin, J.P., 114, Harrow road
 „ A. Hill, 50, Mornington street
 „ G. E. Hubbard, J.P., 276, East Park road
 „ J. T. Taylor, Glenwood, Coleman road
 „ F. F. Riley, 45, Epsom road
 „ J. Riley, 34, Bismarck street
 „ G. E. Hubbard, J.P., 2, Gwendolen road
 „ G. A. Kenny, 72, Westbourne street
 „ J. Kenny, 72, Westbourne street
 Liverpool—J. W. T. Morrissey, Haverstoke road, Fairfield
 Lochgelly—Michael Lee, Auchtirderran road, Lochgelly
 Macclesfield—W. Bond, Mill street
 „ J. Webster, 81, Higginbotham street
 Manchester—J. E. Gilchrist, Back Hanover street
 „ Tom Fox, 5, Repton street, C.-on-M.
 „ T. Jackson, 113, Ashley lane, Harpurhey
 „ J. Johnstone, Oak Bank avenue, Blackley
 „ J. J. Rudge, 202, Ridgway street, Bradford, Manchester
 „ E. J. Hart, 115, Liverpool road
 „ J. E. Sutton, J.P., North road, Clayton

- Manchester**—T. Cook, Victoria Buildings
 " Joseph Billam, J.P., 41, Port street, Manchester
Maybole—Thomas Dick, High street, Maybole
Merthyr—Alderman A. Wilson, 2, Penn street, Treharris
 " R. Evans, Barrington street, Merthyr Vale
 " Alderman Caradog J. Jones, 52, Brecon street, Dowlais
 " J. Davies, 36, Muriel terrace, Dowlais
Middlesborough—G. A. Carey, " Beechwood," Poplars road, Linthorpe
 " J. Loughran, 26, Borough road
Middleton—T. Coates, 76, Greenhill road
Mossley—Matthew Farr, 110, Breeze Hill, Micklehurst
Musselburgh—James Young, 25, Market street
Neath—Daniel Harry, 91, Briton Ferry road
 " James Jones, 9, Edward street
 " Jonah Davies, 23, Eastland road
 " Tom Griffiths, Lewis road
Nelson—J. Breese, 66, Every street
 " J. Rickard, 378, Leeds road
 " W. Rickard, J.P., Mayor 207, Leeds road
 " E. Boothman, 3, Forest street
 " T. Lambert, 200, Barkerhouse road
 " T. Winterbottom
Newcastle-on-Tyne—J. W. Johnston, 170, Clara street, Benwell
 " " D. Adams, 41, Larkspur terrace, Jesmond
 " " Richardson Cleminson, 115, Jefferson street
 " " Geo. Smith, 256, Condercum road, Benwell
Newmilns—David Macartney, 30, Nelson street
Newport (Mon.)—Charles Thomas, 25, Dor road, Newport
Norwich—A. Dunnett, 87, Marlborough road
 " H. A. Day, Woodhurst, Newmarket road
 " W. Holmes, 128, Churchill road
 " F. Easton, 82, Pitt street
 " H. Cadman, 55, Carrow road
 " W. R. Smith, 41, Denmark road
Ossett—J. Wilson
Paisley—Ex-Bailie Baird, 163, George street
Partick—G. Kerr, junr.
Pontefract—John Taylor, I.L.P. Club, Southgate
Poplar—Alderman C. E. Summer, 61, Knapp road, Bromley, E.
 " Alderman J. H. Banks, 6, Campbell road, Bromley-by-Bow, E.
 " W. A. Fisher, 109, Abbott road, Poplar
 " S. March, 9, Upper North street, Poplar
 " A. N. Darby, 49, Gough street, Poplar
 " A. James, 20, Beachy road, Bow, E.
 " Geo. Lansbury, 103, St. Stephen's road, Bow, E.
 " W. Suckling, 10, Marner street, Bromley-by-Bow
 " J. H. West, 488, Old Ford road, Bow, E.
Rochdale—T. Alcock, Birchinley Farm, Milnrow, nr. Rochdale,
Rochester—A. W. Ireland, 1, Brompton lane, Strood
Rotherham—G. E. Caine, Lord street
 " W. Milnes, Fitzwilliam road
St. Helens—T. Hamblett, 38, Westfield street
 " P. Pugh, 54, Claughton street
 " W. Forshaw, 93, Hardshaw street
 " A. Rudd, St. Anns
St. Pancras—J. H. Harley, 8, Kingston House, Camden street, S.W.
 " H. James, 44, Park street, N.W.
Salford—J. Hayes, 60, Highfield road, Seedley
 " H. Mottershead, 5, Glendinning street, Seedley
 " A. A. Purcell, 162, Gt. Clowes street, Broughton

- Salford—J. Dudley, 2, Brook street, Pendleton
 „ J. Nuttall, 29, York street, Lower Broughton
 „ J. Openshaw, 1, Milton street, Pendleton
 Saltcoats—J. Ross, 58, Canal street
 Sheffield—T. Hemmings, 87, Cammell road, Firth Park, Sheffield
 „ R. G. Murray, 90, Wheldon road, Firth Park, Sheffield
 „ R. B. Padley, 144, Firth Park crescent, Sheffield
 „ A. Barton, 43, Manvers road
 Shoreditch—W. Girling
 Shrewsbury—J. K. Morris, Port Hill Gardens
 S. Shields—J. Batey, J.P., 10, Clifton terrace
 „ R. Hearn, 10, Frost street, Tyne Dock
 „ T. Toll, 153, Hyde street
 „ R. Vine, 11, Ravensworth terrace
 Smethwick—George Ryder, 67, Rawlings road, Bearwood, Smethwick
 Southampton—W. Bonner, Northam road
 Stockport—C. Linfoot, 30, Bramhall lane
 Stockton—Alderman R. Bainbridge, Ashfield villas
 „ Jno. Baker, 24, Victoria avenue
 Sunderland—T. Summerbell, M.P., 14, St. Vincent street
 „ David Bell, 34, Jackson street
 „ G. New, 41, Percy street
 Swansea—Alderman D. Williams, Windmill terrace
 „ G. Colville
 „ Ivor Gwynne,
 „ W. Owen,
 „ R. Dommett, Whites' terrace
 „ Alderman W. H. Morris, Hafod street
 „ W. H. Miles, Penmaen terrace
 Swindon—S. E. Walters, 10, Park lane
 Todmorden—Jas. Wilkinson, Harehill street
 „ Edwin Crabtree, 4, Cleveland street, Cornholme
 Wallsend—R. Casson, 8, Laburnam avenue
 Warrington—F. Stott, 160, Battersby lane
 „ J. Ball, 18, Causeway avenue
 Warwick—Amos C. Mills, Cape road
 West Bromwich—J. Holland, 63, Lyttleton street
 West, Ham—G. Saunders Jacobs, 195, Romford road, Forest gate
 „ W. Devenay, 3, Charford road, Canning Town
 „ H. Baldock, 10, Eclipse road, Canning Town
 „ B. Gardner, 15, Ling road, Canning Town
 „ D. J. Davis, 2, Custom street, Canning Town
 „ G. Croot, 79, Sutton Court road, Plaistow
 Widnes—J. C. Boyle, 48, Irwell street
 Wigan—Thorley Smith, 10, Orchard street, Wigan
 „ W. Black, " Bay Horse," Hallgate, Wigan
 „ Jas. Fairhurst, Knowles Villa, Goose Green, Wigan.
 „ R. T. Fletcher, 70, Scholes, Wigan
 Wolverhampton—T. Frost, Merridale road
 „ Evan Evans, Lea road
 „ R. R. Millard, Penn, Wolverhampton
 Woolwich—Alf. Hall, 98, Vicarage road, Plumstead
 „ Jas. Newman, 75, Heavitree road, Plumstead
 „ W. H. Ross, 6, Cantwell road, Plumstead
 „ R. Wale, 20, McLeod road, Plumstead
 „ L. Jenkins Jones, " Broomhill," Shrewsbury lane, Plumstead
 „ Alderman T. Macnamara, 42, Wilmount street
 „ J. A. Turnbull, 37, Kashgar road, Plumstead
 „ J. Sheppard, 12, Burwash road, Plumstead

Workington—Alderman Patrick Wells, Westfield, Mossbay road
 „ Alderman A. Bains
 „ J. Iredale
 „ E. J. Holden
 „ J. M'Arthur, Moss Bay
 York—J. H. Harthey, 12, Bismarck street

RURAL DISTRICT COUNCILS.

Barnard Castle—T. Davis
 Bishop Auckland—Ben Spoor
 Bolden Colliery—John Dudd, Bolden Colliery
 Chapel-en-le-Frith—J. Bruce Glasier
 Chester-le-Street—T. Richardson, 6, Co-op. terrace, New Washington
 „ John George Savory, Co-operative Stores, Sacriston
 „ G. Cruddas, Workmen's Club, Beamish, R.S.O.
 „ Miles Handy, Usworth Colliery
 „ Wm. Bottoms, Usworth Colliery
 „ Ralph Elliott, New Washington
 „ Jas. Hall, Washington
 „ T. Robinson, Twizel, Co. Durham
 „ Eli Cook
 „ Thos. Wishart
 Coalville—Arthur Lockwood, Belvoir row
 Cwmavon—Wyndham Edwards, The Terrace, Cwmavon, Glam.
 Guisboro'—J. B. Stubbs, 26, Dale street, New Marske
 Malling—J. Hawkes, 76, London road, Maidstone
 Pershore—J. T. Coates, Church Farm, Pinvin, Pershore
 Pontardawe—H. Thomas, Glynmeirch, Trebanos
 Ryhope—R. Richardson, Miners' Buildings
 Sedgfield—J. Vickerstaff, Ferryhill
 Tondou—W. Lewis, 5, Broadview terrace, Tondou, Aberkenfig
 Weardale—M. Lee, Front street, Frosterley
 Yardley—F. Spires, " Rosemary," Yardley road, Acocks Green, Birmingham
 „ H. E. Holloway, 158, Barrows road
 „ E. T. Mills, 83, Grove road

SCHOOL BOARDS (SCOTLAND).

Alloa—James Cook, Devon Village, Alloa, N.B.
 Ayr—J. Neils, 23, Nelson street
 Bothwell—J. Young, 7, Kyle Park, Uddingston
 Cumnock—Hugh Lorrimer, Glaisnock street
 Dalmellington—Hugh Gibson, Meadow Bank, Dalmellington
 Dalry—Daniel Clelland, Main street, Dalry, N.B.
 Douglas Water—Jas. Gold, Eastertown, Douglas Water, Lanark
 Dundee—Agnes Husband, 67, Murraygate
 Edinburgh—J. A. Young, 90, Morningside road
 Glasgow—W. M. Haddow, 9, North Claremont street
 Govan—W. Galloway, 191, Langlands road
 Hawick—W. Allan Wilson, 37, High street
 Kilwinning—Provost J. B. Hamilton, 97, Main street
 „ R. Smith, Garnock View
 Kirriemuir—Dr. J. Broom, High street
 „ J. M. Louson, 114, Glengate street
 Larkhall—Andrew Paton, 57A, Drygate street
 Muirkirk—Alex. Wallace, Co-operative Buildings

Musselburgh—Joseph Young, 104, North High street
 Neilston—Duncan Blair
 Tarbolton—James Brown, Annbank, Ayrshire
 Tillicoultry—Wm. Cook, Colonsnaughton
 Wishaw—John Fell, "Glengonar," Leighton street

URBAN DISTRICT COUNCILS.

Aberdare—E. Stonelake, 22, Belmont terrace, Aberaman, Aberdare
 „ John Davies, 27B, Regent street, Aberaman, Aberdare
 „ T. Lewis, Windsor street, Treynon
 „ Illyd Hopkins, 27, George street, Aberaman
 Abersychan—J. Winstone, Park View, Pontnewynydd, Pontypool
 Abertillery—William Harris, 26, High street, Six Bells, Abertillery
 „ Albert Chas. Willis, 1, Alexandra terrace, Six Bells
 Abercarn—E. Brett Davies, Commercial road, Abercarn
 „ Alfred Sheen, 3, Bryn Gwyn Cottages, Newbridge
 Acton—Robert Dunsmore, 12, Osborne road, Acton, W.
 „ James F. Shillaker, 95, Fielding road, Bedford Park, London, W
 Altrincham—William Games, 4, Harcourt road, Broadheath
 Annfield Plain—Mark Aynsley, Queens' Parade
 „ Jno. Keenan, West Kyo, Annfield Plain
 Ashington—G. R. Patterson, New road, Seaton Hirst,
 „ R. Gilbertson, 130, Pont street, Seaton Hirst
 Barry—James Jones, Holton road
 Bedlington—Chas. Westgarth, 22, Worsdale street, Cambois
 Benfieldside—T. Williams, Oakwood road, Blackhill
 Blaydon—J. Wilkinson, Winlaton
 „ G. Dargue, Thames street, Chopwell, Ebchester, Co. Durham
 „ T. Robson, High Spen
 „ John Wilkinson, 15, Lime street, Winlaton, Blaydon-on-Tyne
 Blyth—R. Rome, 86, Bowes street, Waterloo
 „ J. Ferrell, 5, West Row, Iasbella Pit
 Bolton—G. Probert, 165, Doncaster road, Goldthorpe, near Rotherham
 „ T. Hannen, Barnsley road, Goldthorpe
 „ A. Walsh, Doncaster road, Goldthorpe
 „ W. Russell, Barnsley road, Highgate
 Brierfield—Frederick Mallinson, 21, Claremont street
 „ Wesley Lowcock, 16, Livingstone street
 Briton Ferry—J. Thomas, Grandison street
 „ G. Gethin, 30, Vernon street
 „ J. Branch, 6, Osterly street
 „ G. Davies, 32, Thomas street
 Brockholes—G. H. Barraclough, 36, Rock Terrace, Brockholes
 Burry Port—Dr. J. H. Williams, Snowden House
 Caerau—Thomas Griffiths, 52, Caerau road, Caerau
 „ Alfred John Hicks, Leifi House, Treharne road, Caerau
 Castleford—W. Bickerton, Lower Oxford street, Castleford
 Chadderton—J. Smith, 24, Under lane, Hollinwood
 „ R. Wrather, 90, Dalton street
 „ E. Duxbury, 9, Turf lane
 Chiswick—T. O'Brien, 5, Braikley terrace
 „ W. McConnell, 59, Cranbrook road
 Consett—T. Bridgwater
 Denholme—J. H. Southwell
 Edmonton—H. Barrass, 356, Hertford road
 „ L. Chinn, Fore street
 „ Rev. T. C. Collins, 84, Silver street

- Erith—W. Ling, "Iolanthe," Larner road (Education Committee)
 " A. Button, 21, Horsa road, Northumberland Heath (Education Committee).
 " W. Stallwood, 25, Gordon road, Belvedere
 " A. C. Johnson, 84, Hengist road, Belvedere (Library Committee.)
 Failsworth—F. B. Grundy, 7, Evening street
 " Harry Taylor, 9, Wisley street
 Fairfield, Buxton—W. Goodwin, King's road, Fairfield
 Felling—G. Donelley, 49, Waggon Way street, Wardley Colliery
 Fleetwood—J. Wood
 Flockton—George Tindall
 " G. Leather
 " Willie Johnson
 Gildersome—G. Seed, Rose Cottage, Gildersome
 Glyncorrwg—Waters
 Gorton—F. Pogson, 41, Mound road
 " W. Gregory, 37, Hyde road
 " S. Hague, 2, Highfield Range
 Handsworth—G. H. Humphreys, 94, Hamstead road
 " E. Aston, Holmwood, Grove lane
 Harrington—P. T. Corris, Lime road, Harrington
 " J. Broadbent, Rose Hill, Harrington
 " P. Johnston, Copperas Hill, Harrington
 Haworth—James Smith, 66, Lord lane, Haworth
 Hebburn—Wm. Burt, 14, Ann street
 " John Lazenby, Arthur street, Hebburn Colliery
 " R. Main, South street, Hebburn Colliery
 Hebden Bridge—G. Pickles, 36, Windsor road
 " A. E. Bishop, 25, Melbourne street
 Holmfirth—S. E. Sykes, Lumb Bank, Austonley
 Honley—Francis Littlewood, Grove House, Honley, Huddersfield
 Irlam—A. H. Turner, 17, Liverpool road
 Kettering—P. Wallis, Headlands
 " W. Dyson, Crown street
 " J. Haynes, 110, Bath road
 " S. W. Taylor, Carlton street
 Kidgrove—Spencer Boon, Mow Cop, Stoke-on-Trent
 King's Norton and Northfield—E. Whittaker, 63, Goldsmith road, King's Heath, Birmingham
 Leek—W. Provost, 53, Ball Haye Green, Leek
 Llanelly—Thos. Harries
 Levenshulme—J. McLachlan, 3, Alexandra avenue
 " T. Drinkwater, Broom lane
 " W. Winnitt, Windsor road
 Littleborough—R. H. Wilson, 50, Featherstall road
 Liversedge—H. Heys, Station lane
 Long Eaton—Sam Truman, Walden, Oakleys road
 Luddendenfoot—Willie Ackroyd, Blackwood Hall, Luddendenfoot
 " Albert Waters, Belmont Terrace
 Maesteg—Vernon Hartshorn, Brynmawr place
 Margam—E. B. Rees
 Marsden—Harris Hoyle, Avenue terrace
 Mexborough—N. Hadshead, Dolcliffe road
 " Fred Smith, 8, Helena street
 Moorside—C. H. Heywood, Swinton, Lancs.
 New Mill—Ben England, New Mill
 " Fred Barrow, New Mill
 " Herman Barker, Broadstones Reservoir, Cumberworth
 " F. W. Castle, Hollingreave
 Mountain Ash—John Charles, "Cynon House," Oxford street

- Mountain Ash—W. Lamburn, Lyndhurst street
 Normanton—J. W. Beard
 " Alf. Smith, 474, Castleford road
 Ogmire & Garw—W. Davies, 37, Alexandra road, Pontycymmer
 " Jacob Edwards, J.P., Nantymoel
 Padiham—T. Foster, Blackburn road
 Penrhiwceiber—J. H. Hall
 Radcliffe—John Bridge
 " John Chapman
 Ryton—Matthew Clark
 St. Annes—W. H. Jackson, 28, Park road, St. Annes-on-Sea
 Saddleworth—T. E. Moorhouse, Delph, near Oldham
 " Kendal Brierley, Woolroad, Dobcross, near Oldham
 Sandal Magna—Evan Davies, 14, Church View
 Scammonden—Ammon Sykes, Hudson Croft, Barkisland
 " Henry Berry, Hudson Croft, Barkisland, near Halifax
 Shildon—W. Kidd, Main street, Shildon
 " J. Peacock, Wesley crescent, Shildon
 " T. Scarff, Foundry street, Shildon
 " J. W. Dixon, 3, Scott street, New Shildon
 " H. James, Kilburn street, New Shildon
 Shipley—H. P. Hipkin, Cragg End, Windhill
 " E. L. Baumann, 13, Cross Banks
 " G. Rastrick, 36, Rhodes street, Saltaire road, Shipley
 Shiremoor—F. Kitt, Earsdon Square
 Slaithwaite—T. Bamforth, Commercial Buildings
 Skipton—Walter Wykes, 9, Byron street, Middletown
 Soothill Upper—Hy. Dunn, High street, Hanging Heaton, near Dewsbury
 South Bank—Thos. M. Scott
 " Robert Thompson
 " Thos. Carrol
 South Crosland—Smith Cater, Road Side, Netherton, Huddersfield
 " George Avison, Martin Nest, Netherton, Huddersfield
 Southowram—W. A. Rawlinson, Southowram, Halifax
 S. Shields—J. Dodds, " Leicester House," Boldon Colliery, Co. Durham
 Southwick—Peter Inglis, " Alexandra Inn," Clockwell street
 Sowerby Bridge—J. Bates, 4, Dale street
 Stanhope—R. Henderson
 " R. Walton
 Sutton-in-Ashfield—John Albert Lupton, Kirkby road, Sutton-in-Ashfield
 " John Alfred Spencer, Walton street, Sutton-in-Ashfield
 Swinton & Pendlebury—Peter Lindley, 154, Station road, Pendlebury
 " John McGurk, Fraser street, Pendlebury
 Thornhill—J. Sykes, Slaithwaite road, Thornhill Lees
 " T. Myers, Co-op. Buildings, Brewery lane, Thornhill Lees
 " Henry Brown, Combs., Thornhill
 Tottenham—A. E. Harvey, 12, Nelson road, South Tottenham
 Usworth Colliery—Jas. Hall
 " Miles Handy
 Walkden—R. W. Grimshaw, Algernon street, Walkden
 West Stanley—W. Maddison, Joicey square, Stanley, R.S.O.
 Whitefield—Fred Nelson, Uplands View
 Whitley, Upper—George Booth, Grange Moor, near Wakefield
 " Gamaliel Senior, Grange Moor, near Wakefield
 " J. Hewitt, Grange Moor, near Wakefield
 Whitwood—Wm. Brook, High street, Whitwood Mere, near Castleford
 Willington—J. W. Strickland, Russell place, Willington, Durham
 " J. W. Appleton, West End terrace, Willington, Durham
 " G. Jackson, Low Willington
 Woolwich—E. J. Mayes, 20, Crookston road, Eltham, S.E.

Yeadon—H. Lockwood, Ivegate
Ynysybwl—Hugh Price, Thompson street, Ynysybwl, Glam.

J.P.'s.

Alderman G. Banton, Leicester
J. R. Bell, 77, Mary street, Blaydon-on-Tyne, Durham
Councillor J. Chaplin, Leicester
J. R. Clynes, M.P., 176, Union street, Oldham
Dr. Alfred Cox, Cotfield House, Gateshead
Pete Curran, M.P., 1, Pretoria avenue, Walthamstow
James Frankland c/o Blackburn Secretary
Ex-Baillie W. Forsyth, 58, Alexandra Parade, Glasgow
A. Gilchrist, 25, Eglinton street, Glasgow
Charles Allen Henderson, 2, Ebor street, Tyne Dock, Jarrow
G. Hines, "Northbank," Belstead road, Ipswich
Councillor G. E. Hubbard, Leicester
S. Hamblett, 38, Westfield street, St. Helens
Tom McKerrell, Craigie road, Riccarton, Kilmarnock
G. S. Moss, 21, Cemetery road, Ipswich
E. Merchant, 11, Tale street, Derby
Ex-Baillie Henry Murphy, Lanark
Provost A. Kirkland, Irvine, Ayrshire
Ex-Baillie G. Mitchell, 114, Howard street, Glasgow
J. K. Morris, Port Hill Gardens, Shrewsbury
James Norman, Somerset
Joseph Parr, Granville road, Blackpool
F. Stott, 160, Battersley lane, Warrington
J. B. Stubbs, 26, Dale street, New Marske
Ex-Baillie P. G. Stewart, 12, Stockwell street, Glasgow
G. H. Standring, c/o I.L.P., 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.
John Smedley, The Ferns, Belper road, Derby
J. W. Taylor, M.P., Dipton, S.O., Co. Durham
Alderman P. Walls, Westfield, Workington
H. G. Wells, Sandgate, Kent

Directory of I.L.P. Speakers.

Every speaker on this list has been nominated by his or her branch, but as some branches have not sent any names this list is necessarily incomplete.

An attempt has been made to secure an indication from branches as to the special suitability of the speakers for different kinds of meetings.

The classifying letters before speakers' names therefore mean :—

- a. Suitable for Indoor Educational Lectures.
- b. " " Addressing Trade Union Branches.
- c. " " Open-Air Propaganda Meetings.

By means of this indication it is hoped to save Lecture Secretaries and others much unnecessary correspondence. Where no letters appear the information has not been furnished.

Lecture Secretaries should note that when writing speakers a stamped addressed postcard for reply should ALWAYS be included.

DIVISION I.

SCOTLAND.

- a Allan, James A., 25, Bothwell street, Glasgow
- abc Alston, Coun. J., 201, Ingram street, Glasgow
- b Baird, Harry, 163, George street, Paisley
- c Belbin, E. J., 34, Cromwell street, Glasgow
- bc Brown, James, Annbank, Ayrshire
- a Campbell, John, 36, Kirkpatrick street, Glasgow
- abc Charlton, Robert, 7, Deerpark Gardens, Tollcross by Glasgow
- ac Cherry, Thomas, 6, Union street, Glasgow
- abc Climie, Coun. Robt., 14, North Hamilton street, Kilmarnock
- ac Drife, T., 15, Howth Terrace, Anniesland, Glasgow
- ac Fitzpatrick, Mat., 4, Waverley terrace, Dennistoun, Glasgow
- ac Ford, Christopher, 41, Graham avenue, Clydebank
- ac Fullerton, A., 229, Church street, Maryhill
- ac Fulton, J. D., 17, McKerrell street, Paisley
- abc Green, G., care of A. Faller, 153, Slatefield street, Glasgow
- c Guthrie, Moses, 60, Mansion street, Possilpark, Glasgow
- a Haddon, W. Martin, 9, North Claremont street, Glasgow
- ac Hardie, George, 93, Hope street, Glasgow
- bc Hamilton, Fred, 57, Canongate, Edinburgh
- c Henderson, Thomas, Coylton Public School, near Ayr
- ac Hope, Daniel, 1, Gordon street, Clydebank
- ac Hunter, Matthew, 10, Earl Spencer terrace, Clydebank
- abc Kessack, J. O'Connor, 16, Russell place, Kelvinhaugh, Glasgow
- b Laird, A., 121, Firhill street, Glasgow
- a Leechman, W. G., 39, Park road, Glasgow
- ab Leiper, Andrew, 12, Dover street, Glasgow

- ac Low, William, 28, Springhill Garden, Crossingloof, Glasgow
- a Lowe, David, 264, Bath street, Glasgow
- a MacWhannel, N, 1366, Pollokshaws road, Glasgow
- abc McKerrrell, Baillie Tom, Craigie Road, Riccarton, Kilmarnock
- ab McLaren, John, 96, Cardross street, Dennistoun, Glasgow
- ac Murchison, Murdoch, 12, Keir street, Edinburgh
- a Murphy, Henry, Westport, Lanark
- ac Murray, Robert, 146, Main street, Barrhead
- a O'Sullivan, Miss, 218, Bath street, Glasgow
- abc Pettigrew, Agnes, 35, Bell street (City), Glasgow
- a Pollok, Robert, Bishopriggs, Glasgow
- b Robertson, D. F., 107, Dundas street, Glasgow
- abc Ross, Duncan, 7, Kirktonholm street, Kilmarnock
- ac Russell, Rev. E. T., B.A., 14, Stonelaw terrace, Rutherglen, N.B.
- c Sampson, James, Tam's Brig, Newton-on-Ayr
- a Sclanders, Mr. 1019, Sauchiehall street, Glasgow
- ac Scott, Charles, 264, Crow road, Partick, Glasgow
- Scott, George, 95, Crown street, Glasgow
- bc Sinkinson, George, 2, Drumother Mansions, Tollcross by Glasgow
- c Small, Robert, junr., 788, New City road, Glasgow
- abc Stewart, W., 136, Crail street, Parkhead, Glasgow
- abc Taylor, J. S., 24, Paisley road (West), Glasgow
- ac Turner, A., 16, Church street, Maryhill
- c Walker, Alex., 592, Keppochhill road, Glasgow
- Walker, David, 265, Broad street, Mile End, Glasgow
- abc Watson, R.M., 16, Rochdove Gardens, Tollcross by Glasgow
- ac Wilson, James, "Helenbank," Victoria street, Dunfermline
- ac Wilson, W. A., 37, High street, Hawick
- ac Young, John A., 90, Morningside road, Edinburgh

DIVISION II.

NORTHUMBERLAND, DURHAM, CLEVELAND.

- abc Adams, David, 22, Manor House road, Jesmond, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- abc Armstrong, W., 109, Gerald street, Benwell, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- a Atkinson, M., B.A. (Oxon), Commercial street, Middleton, Hartlepool
- Atkinson, Miss Mabel, 2, Devonshire terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- ac Baird, T., 11, Seventh avenue, Hirst, Northumberland
- Baird, R. G. H., Pegswood, Morpeth
- bc Baker, A., 8, Pont street, Hirst, Northumberland
- Barrass, Chris., 11, Hill street, Jarrow
- c Barrass, R., 4, Kay street, Stanley, R.S.O., Co. Durham
- abc Batey, Jos., J.P., 10, Clifton terrace, South Shields
- b Braithwait, Jas., Diamond House, Boosbeck, Cleveland
- ac Beckett, T., 56, Whitby street, West Hartlepool
- abc Bell, J. N., J.P., 6, Hotspur street, Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- abc Bell, Mrs. F. H., 6, Hotspur street, Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- Bennett, S. P., 26, Park road, Darlington
- ac Bentham, Dr. Ethel, 19, Ellison place, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- abc Black, Jas., Station road, New Washington
- Black, W., White Lea, Chester-le-Street
- ab Brown, Wm., 39, Bensham Crescent, Gateshead
- Bull, Rev. W. G., Wesley House, Esk Winning, Waterhouses
- abc Chapman, J., 51, Gerald street, Benwell, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- bc Charles, F. J., 26, Sarah street, Gateshead
- a Christen, A. Professor, 21, Framlington place, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- abc Clark, Robert, 46, Cockron street, Benwell, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- Clayton, T., South street, Langley Park

- bc Cresswell, E., 99, School street, Gateshead
- ac Crook, H., 5, Alexandra place, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- Curry, Matt., 76, Farraday street, Dean Bank, Ferryhill
- bc Dickson, J., 51, Kirk street, Byker, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- bc Dixon, William, 24, Lily terrace, Rowland's Gill, Durham
- Dodds, J. D., 6, Princess street, South Hylton, Sunderland
- abc Drake, Henry, 55, Tosson terrace, Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- abc Drummond, F., 21, Cuthbert street, Gateshead
- Duffy, J., Labour Hall, Yarm lane, Stockton
- English, Joseph, Lovaine crescent, Newcastle
- abc Flynn, W., 2, Elmgrove terrace, Gateshead
- ac Gilbertson, R., Hirst, Northumberland
- abc Gillender, Thos., 26, Clara street, Benwell, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- ac Gillians, Walter, 4, Ninth row, Ashington
- ac Gleig, L. F., 3, Wycliffe terrace, Gateshead
- Glover, Walter, I.L.P. Institute, Chesnut street, Wallsend
- Gowland, J., Highfield, Rowland's Gill
- bc Henderson, C. A., 2, Ebor street, Tyne Dock, South Shields
- Handscomb, G. W., 12, Laburnam avenue, Whitley Bay
- c Hildreth, Alfred, 15, Foster street, Consett, Co. Durham
- abc Hill, H., 35, Hotspur street, Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- bc Holliday, Edwin, Overdene, Oakwood road, Blackhill, Co. Durham
- c Hope, R., 25, Jubilee terrace, Annfield Plain
- a Hopkins, J. H., 61, Balmoral avenue, Gateshead
- Jacques, George, Black Horse Yard, Chester-le-Street
- abc James, Coun. Henry, Kilburn street, New Shildon
- Jobson, Rev. J., Willington, Durham
- Johnson, Rev. Lewis, Waldencote, Grosvenor place, North Shields
- bc Johnson, Wm. N., Gladstone terrace, Sunnyside, Tow Law
- abc Johnston, Coun. J. W., "Clarion" House, Bishop road, Benwell, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- abc Laidler, J., 1, Burnville, Jesmond Vale, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- Lawrence, A. H., 97, Chester road, Sunderland
- Leonard, Thomas, Grey street, Crook
- ac Lee, Rev. Richard, B.A., Link's road, Blyth, Northumberland
- abc Lewis, F. T. Wolseley, 5, Hall terrace, Gateshead
- Lindsley, J. W., 29, Shields road, Byker, Newcastle
- Long, W., 5, Wellington street, Felling-on-Tyne
- bc Longstaff, T., 26, Robert street, South Shields
- abc Moffatt, Robert, 24, Queen Anne street, Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- abc Moll, Rev. W. E., St. Philip's Vicarage, Prospect place, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- bc Moore, Wm., 6, Luke street, Trimdon Colliery
- abc Morgan, R., 10, Alma street, South Shields
- abc Naysmith, R., 5, Gill Bridge avenue, Sunderland
- ac Norman, F., 3, Queen's terrace, Seaton Carew, West Hartlepool
- ac Patterson, G. R., New road, Hirst, Northumberland
- abc Peacock, T., 28, Ellison street, Gateshead
- Pearson, D. H., Langley Moor, near Durham
- Pughe, Rev. David, West End, Willington, Durham
- Raper, S., 5, Dean street, Sunnybrow, Willington, Durham.
- abc Richardson, Wm., 16a, Addycombe terrace, Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- abc Richardson, T., C.C., 6, Co-operative terrace, New Washington
- ac Richardson, O. B., 19, Wingrove road, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- abc Richardson, W. P., Railway terrace, Usworth Colliery
- Riddle, Geo., Gladstone terrace, Birtley, Co. Durham
- ac Robinson, R., 9, Putney terrace, Newbiggin-by-Sea
- ac Robson, J., 77, Tenth row, Ashington
- Royle, Rufus, Borough road, Sunderland
- bc Schofield, Thos., Middle Pit road, Trimdon Colliery

- Scott, Henry, 1, Old Row, E., North Walbottle, Newburn-on-Tyne
 abc Scott, Edward, 3, Fenwick terrace, Gateshead
 Sharpe, Rev. G. C., Malvern House, Barnard Castle
 abc Shaw, F. J., 13, Bristol terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne
 a Shaw, Mrs. M. D., 13, Bristol terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne
 bc Sherwood, Coun. Will, 2, Lumley square, Hartlepool
 abc Simm, Mrs. L. E., 15, Oakwood terrace, Gosforth, Newcastle-on-Tyne
 Simm, M. T., 15, Oakwood terrace, Gosforth, Newcastle-on-Tyne
 abc Smith, Coun. Geo., 256, Condercum road, Benwell, Newcastle-on-Tyne
 abc Smith, William, 3, East View, Usworth
 ac Smyth, James, 193, Cuthbert street, Hebburn
 Storr, Rev. E. B., The Manse, Annfield Plain
 abc Swan, John E., Dipton, R.S.O., Co. Durham
 Sykes, Coun. W., 282, High street, Gateshead
 abc Taylor, J. W., M.P., Dipton, R.S.O., Co. Durham
 Thompson, J. J., Station road, Trimdon Colliery
 Todd, Charles, Esk Village, Co. Durham
 Tallentire, G., East Hedley Hope, Tow Law
 ac Vine, R., 11, Ravensworth terrace, South Shields
 Vivian, Valentine, 207, Front street, Chester-le-Street
 Walker, O., 72, Orwell street, Middlesborough
 b Walker, Wm., 7, Wharton street, North Skelton, Cleveland
 abc Wall, Hy., 33, Muriel street, Redcar, Cleveland
 abc Walmsley, John, 25, Elliott terrace, Station road, New Washington
 Watkinson, R., 84, Farraday Grove, Gateshead
 Wickins, J. J., 5, Jesmond Gardens, West Hartlepool
 Wilkinson, Coun. J., 15, Lime street, Winlaton
 Wilson, George, 26, Albury Park road, Tynemouth
 Wilson, H. B., 9, Crawley road, Wallsend
 ac Wilson, W., 15, Market place, Hirst, Northumberland
 ac Wood, W., 70, Longley street, Newcastle-on-Tyne
 c Woodley, F., 7, Alfred street, Stanley, R.S.O., Co. Durham

DIVISION III.

YORKSHIRE.

- abc Addy, T. L., 186, Effingham street, Rotherham
 ac Ainsworth, H., 52, Bayswater Mount, Leeds
 a Allerton, J. W., Bayley lane, Farsley
 abc Badley, Coun. J., Preston terrace, Leeds
 a Banks, R., 21, Primrose Hill, Skipton
 c Barker, Coun. Herman, Broadstones, Cumberworth, near Huddersfield.
 Barton, Coun. A., Isaacs Buildings, Upper Charles street, Sheffield
 c Batty, Walter, Lunn road, Cudworth
 ac Percy Bedford, Institute Buildings, Drighlington
 abc Blades, H. (late Ruskin College), 64, Featherstone Square, Pontefract
 Boden, W. H., 22, Wincabank avenue, Sheffield
 ac Booth, F. W., 72, Lamport street, Hull
 a Bradburn, H., Junr., 35, Beech street, Barnsley
 ac Bridge, W., 129, Doncaster road, Barnsley
 abc Coldwell, J. Brook, Bridge road, Horbury Bridge, Wakefield
 ac Brown, A., 1, Poplar Grove, Lorraine street, Hull
 abc Bull, W. O., 2, Cemetery road, Hemsworth
 abc Burns, I., Kirkby road, Hemsworth
 abc Caine, Coun. G. E., 479, Fitzwilliam road, Rotherham
 Carpenter, E., Holmesfield, near Sheffield
 a Chapman, John, 51, Cambridge street, Normanton
 ac Court, H., 11, Ruskin terrace, Halifax

- bc Dawson, E. W., 46, Albany street, Rotherham
- b Dobbie, Wm., 127, Poppleton road, York
- c Dowkes, G., Midland road, Royston, near Barnsley
- c Drake, Frank, 44, Ramsey street, Scarborough
- abc Duncan, T. B., Camberley terrace, Dewsbury road, Leeds
- ac Ebury, Geo., Victoria street, Heckmondwike
- Elsbury, S., 17, Regent street, Sheffield
- Elwood, A., I.L.P. Rooms, Upper Charles street, Sheffield
- ab Exley, Wright, Highfield road, Horbury, Wakefield
- Finch, G. A., 15, Seagrave road, Sheffield
- c Gilson, W., 90, Woodcock street, Hull
- abc Glotzer, Harry, Stonyford road, Wombwell
- abc Goddard, A., 7, Centre street, Holly Band, Hemsworth
- abc Goodenough, George, 18, Charles street, Castleford, Yorks
- abc Greaves, Rev. R. H., Poplar Grove, New Earswick, near York
- c Haigh, Austin, Beacon lane, Bank Top, Horton, near Bradford
- Hall, A. B., 37, Hurst road, Sheffield
- Hall, G. A., 4, Olivett road, Sheffield
- ab Hallaway, J. W., 9, Station avenue, New Earswick, near York
- Hallsworth, H. M., 28, Havelock square, Sheffield
- abc Hardaker, Denis, West Lellands, Brighouse
- abc Hargreaves, Joseph, 3, Unity street, Keighley
- Harrison, G., 19, Broxholme road, Sheffield
- bc Hartley, Coun. J. H., 12, Bismarck street, Leeman road, York
- Hemmings, Coun., 87, Cammell's road, Sheffield
- c Heys, Coun. H., Station lane, Liversedge
- ac Hillaby, H., 2, Middlesex street, Barnsley
- ac Hopkinson, G. M., 37, Eldon road, Rotherham
- abc Horner, County Coun. Herbert, 50, Belgrave road, Keighley
- abc Hough, E., Purston, Featherstone, Pontefract
- abc Illsley, J., Brunswick terrace, Darfield, near Barnsley
- Jones, R., 84, Ellerton road, Sheffield
- ac Judson, John, Cambridge street, Hebden Bridge, Yorks
- Kilham, R. P., 25, West Bar, Sheffield
- abc Kirk, R., 80, Milton road, Rotherham
- abc Kramer, John, 10, Eastwood street, Huddersfield
- abc Lavin, Thos., Wetherhill street, Batley
- bc Johnson, Willie, Hill Top, Flockton, near Wakefield
- Leach, W., 16, Haslingden Drive, Toller lane, Bradford
- abc Le Dieu, Coun., Copley Hall, Halifax
- ac Major, Jas., 4, Ebor avenue, Middleton street, Hull
- a Mellor, J., Blythe street, Wombwell
- bc Milnes, W., Coun. 89, Fitzwilliam road, Rotherham
- abc Milnes W. H., 3, Wetherby terrace, Leeds
- Moorhouse, Fred, Ferncliff, Bingley
- abc Morby, W., Bedford place, Leeds
- abc Morley, Coun. R., 11, Laura street, Halifax
- bc Murphey, J. J., 82, Minnie Ville, Featherstone, Pontefract
- Murray, Coun. R. G., 90, Welldrake road, Sheffield
- Newton, J., 6, Hadfield street, Sheffield
- Norman, G., 17, Bretnall street, Sheffield
- ac Norton, W., 10, Cannon street, Hull
- Norwood, L., junr., 7, Blair Athol road, Sheffield
- b Nottage, J. S., 7, King Edward's gardens, Barnsley
- Padley, Coun. R. B., 144, Firth Park crescent, Sheffield
- Penny, J., 391, City road, Sheffield
- Penny, Mrs. E., 391, City road, Sheffield
- Alf. Pickles, 24, Athol road, Manningham, Bradford
- abc Poiner, Arthur J., Socialist Institute, Melville street, Wombwell
- Pointer, J., 47, Lown street, Attercliffe, Sheffield

- abc Potts, J., 1, Cemetery road, Hemsworth
- abc Rawlinson, Walter, Church lane, Southowram, Halifax
- abc Roe, Mrs., 26, Campbell street, Keighley
- abc Roebuck, S., Station lane, Wombwell
- Sears, W. J., 228, Brookhill, Sheffield
- abc Sharpe, S., 2, West End, Halifax
- ac Shead, David, 75, Leeds road North, Huddersfield
- abc Slater, Walt., 2, Brownhill avenue, Hudson road, Leeds
- Smith, Colin, Station road, Ecclesfield, near Sheffield
- abc Smith, Frank Keen, 34, Bond street, Wombwell, near Barnsley
- ac Smith, John William, Warrell place, Drighlington
- abc Smith, W., 48, Queen's road, Keighley
- Snowden, Tom, 1, Herbert street, Spencer House, Bingley, York
- abc Spence, George, Victoria avenue, Sowerby, Thirsk
- Stockton, H., 97, Rushdale road, Sheffield
- c Stubbs, Geo. F., 53, Gordon street, Scarborough
- ab Sykes, Coun. H., 4, Cullingworth street, Staincliffe, Batley
- abc Taylor, Coun. A., 32, Skircoat Green, Halifax
- abc Thornton, Joe, 20, Roseneath place, Wortley, Leeds
- abc Tillotson, W., Dawson street, Skipton
- a Tindall, Coun. George, The Town, Flockton, near Wakefield
- abc Walker, Joe, Melbourne House, Farsley
- ab Warburton, Coun. T., 4, Taylor street, Batley
- abc Waterworth, J. W., 48, Catherine street, Keighley
- Webster, Sam, Ivanhoe road, Conisbro'
- Welsh, J. W., I.L.P. Rooms, Upper Charles street, Sheffield
- Whetton, W., 27, Newlyn road, Sheffield
- Whetton, Mrs. S. A., 27, Newlyn road, Sheffield
- b Wilkinson, Coun. Jas., 10, Erringden street, Summerfield road, Todmorden
- Williams, T. M., 15, Tynley road, Sheffield
- ac Willson, Geo. H., 111, Watkinson road, Illingworth, Halifax
- ac Wilson, Geo., Hebble House, Wheatley, Halifax

DIVISION IV.

LANCASHIRE, CHESHIRE, WESTMORELAND, CUMBERLAND, AND NORTH WALES.

- abc Bagot, W. H. W., 5, Albert street, Cadishead, near Manchester
- ac Ball, Coun. James, 18, Causeway avenue, Warrington
- abc Barker, C., 82, St. John's road, Waterloo, Liverpool
- bc Barnett, W. F., Coun. 9, Bulkeley street, Crewe
- bc Barrett, Milton, 17, Market terrace, Crewe
- ac Bates, C. H., 22, Lime avenue, Urmston
- abc Battersby, Richard, 13, Taunton road, Ashton-under-Lyne
- ac Benson, Geo., 8, York street, Manchester
- ab Billinge, Mrs. Annie, 50, Underley street, Liverpool
- abc Blair, W. R., 17, Tancred road, Anfield, Liverpool
- c Bond, William, Mill street, Macclesfield
- abc Booth, F., Lion House, Cheadle Hulme, near Manchester
- abc Boyles, William, 7, Oxford street, Workington
- a Brown, W. Jones, Rochdale road, Middleton
- bc Buckley, O., 35, Culcheth lane, Newton Heath
- abc Burt, J. B., Clarion Club House, Halewood, near Liverpool
- ac Caddick, H. A., 42, Clare road, Bootle, Liverpool
- Caffrey, L. 31, Eden street, Oldham
- ac Chadderton, H., 25, Brook lane, Oldham
- bc Clark, Coun. T. C., 1, Smyrna road, Bootle
- Clynes, J. R., M.P., 174, Union street, Oldham

- abc Coates, Coun. Tom, Mills Hill Road, Middleton
- ac Cone, Joseph, School row, Phoenix street, Sandycroft, near Chester
- abc Cooper, Mrs., St. Mary's street, Nelson, Lancashire
- abc Corrin, J. E., 26, Needham road, Kensington, Liverpool
- bc Cossey, J. 17, Brunswick street, Gorton, Manchester
- c Cox, T. B., care of I.L.P. Secretary, 21, Bridge street, Macclesfield
- Crellin, Henry J., 33, Sea View road, Liscard, Cheshire
- abc Dalbert, F., 153, Runcorn road, Barnton, near Northwich
- abc Davies, A. V., 85, Green street, Middleton
- a Davies, G. F., Victoria road, Wrexham
- ac Davies, Peter, Hill Crest, Huyton, near Liverpool
- c Davies, R. J., 3, April street, Upper Brook street, , C-on-M., Manchester
- abc Dawson, Harry, 48, Liscard road, Wavertree, Liverpool
- abc Dean, H., 6, Gerald road, Lower Broughton, Manchester
- ac Derbyshire, Hy., 41, Alderley road, Flixton
- b Dideridge, J., 27, Stanford avenue, Crewe
- abc Dowthwaite, C., Romiley, near Marple, Cheshire
- Dudley, Coun. J., 2, Brook street, Pendleton, Manchester
- abc Easton, W., 219, Chester road, Hulme, Manchester
- abc Eddie, Mrs., 5, Beaumont street, Higher Broughton, Manchester
- abc Elliott, Richard, 332, Beersbridge road, Belfast
- abc Evans, G. F., 71, Edinburgh road, Kensington, Liverpool
- Ferry, J. R., 29, Nadine street, Pendleton, Manchester
- c Fletcher, Coun. R. T., 70, Scholes, Wigan
- abc Francis, J., 125, Speakman road, St. Helens
- bc Goddard, T., 25, Park avenue, Gorton, Manchester
- abc Grayson, Victor, M.P., Granville Place, Pollard street, Ancoats, Manchester
- abc Hague, S., 2, Highfield Range, Gorton, Manchester
- ac Hall, F., Victoria road, Northwich s
- ac Hall, R. C., 54, Watts street, Leven hulme, Manchester
- ac Hall, Robert H., 72, Mottram road, Hyde
- ac Hammond, W., 144, Whalley range, Blackburn
- abc Harris, Jos., Worker's Union, 11, Victoria street, Belfast
- b Harris, Coun. W., 18, Nightingale street, Blackburn
- abc Harrison, Rev. T., 6, Lecumpher street, Belfast
- abc Hart, C. E., 379, Edge lane, Droylsden, Manchester
- abc Hayes, Coun. John, 60, Highfield road, Pendleton, Manchester
- abc Hewitt, William James, 26, Blackburn street, Workington
- abc Heyworth, George, Cranbourne street, Westfield, Workington
- abc Higham, Coun. Charles, Victoria street, Blackburn
- c Hodgkinson, James, Burnbrae, Bowerham road, Lancaster
- a Holden, Nellie, 104, Higher Wood street, Middleton
- abc Holland, C., 6, Beeston street (Castle), Northwich
- ac Holmes, William, Vulcans lane, Workington
- bc Hooley, Wesley, North terrace, Sandycroft, near Chester
- b Horrocks, Edward, 3, Elaine street, Warrington
- abc Howard, James, Stonyhill, Middleton
- ac Howell, Esau, 41, Victoria road, Workington
- Hoyle, S., 16, Lyme terrace, Mossley
- ac Hudson, Jas. Hindle, M.A., Oaklands, Moorside road, Flixton
- a Hutchinson, Jas., 60, Thistle street, Belfast
- ac Hyde, Isaac, 44, Spring Vale, Middleton
- ac Jackson, Herbert, 30, Rice lane, Walton, Liverpool
- a Johnson, T. R., 2, Frederick terrace, Malone road, Belfast
- c Jones, Hawthorne, Summerville House, Victoria Park, Manchester
- ab Jones, J. W., 106, Swinley road, Wigan
- b Jones, Robert, 29, Bernard road, Wrexham
- ac Keir, C. Forbes, 24, Cartwright road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy
- abc Kelsall, Coun. Thos., 6, Nile street, Crewe
- a Knox, Geo., 8, Wrightington street, Wigan

- bc Law, Arthur, Farisham street, Lightbowne, Manchester
ac Lawrence, S. F., 22, Piccadilly, Manchester
a Laycock, Coun. A., Glenridding, Beechfield avenue, Whitegate drive, Blackpool
abc Leach, W., 4, Vale cottages, Littleborough
abc Lealand, Arthur, 24, Hilton Fold lane, Middleton
abc Lees, Coun. Henry, 25, Ennismore street, Burnley, Lancs.
abc Longden, John, 97, New Moss road, Cadishead, near Manchester
Lunnon, James, 21, Russell road, Wallasey, Cheshire
abc Martin, Dr., Gore Brook House, Gorton, Manchester
a Mason, Richard, 75, Lodge lane, Liverpool
ac Matthews, John Francis, Wash lane, Latchford, Warrington
abc McLachlan, J. M., 3, Alexandra avenue, Levenshulme
c McLeod, A., 215a, Ormskirk road, Newtown, Wigan
abc Mellor, W., 3, Clarence road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy
abc Menzies, D., 26, Cornbrook Park road, Old Trafford, Manchester
ac Mills, Rev. H. V., 22, Greenside, Kendal
c Milton, Mrs., Bagot street, Liverpool
b Mitchell, J. W., 2, Portsmouth street, Blackburn
a Moreland, Jno., 11, Trainfield street, Belfast
abc Morrissey, J. W. T., 17, Haverstock road, Fairfield, Liverpool
a Morton, J. A., Alexandra terrace, Warrington road, Prescott
Munns, S., 24, Hanover street, Mossley
a Munro, J. W., 28, Cross street, Rhodes, Middleton
abc Murphy, James, 71, Underley street, Liverpool
abc Murray, W. J., 6, Chelsea street, Belfast
ac Ness, G., 35, Bank Top, Appley Bridge, Lancs.
abc Nuttall, J., 127, Summit, Littleborough
a Pablo, James, 22, Frederick street, South Shore, Blackpool
a Parr, Jos., J.P., 98, Granville road, Blackpool
Paul, Miss, 47, Connaught road, Kensington, Liverpool
ac Pearce, C. H., 11, Brearley street, Castleton, Lancs,
abc Peck, W. H., 3, Hoviley Brow, Hyde
a Pennington, Thomas, 95, Dean street, Ashton-under-Lyne
ac Phillips, J., Priory street, Wrexham, (Welsh speaker)
b Phipps, J., 28, Stanley street, Ormskirk
a Pimblott, William, 13, Beech lane, Macclesfield
Potter, F. W., 28, Chief street, Oldham
ac Proudfoot, Rev. S., Halton, near Lancaster
abc Purse, Ben, 36, Rigby street, Higher Broughton, Manchester
ac Reeves, A., 216, Derby road, Bootle
bc Reeves, George, 17, Gibson street, Stockton Heath, Warrington
abc Riley, John, 30, Sandy lane, Middleton
b Rimmer, N. (A.S.R.S.), 209, Gidlow lane, Wigan, Lancs.
ac Robinson, Mrs., 73, Caroline street, Ancoats, Manchester
abc Rose, Frank, 578, Chester road, Manchester
ac Rose, H., 111, Tagus street, Liverpool
abc Ross, Coun. Jos., Maryport
ac Rowe, James, Westfield, Workington
bc Rudge, Coun. J. J., 202, Ridgeway street, Bradford, Manchester
ac Sandham, Coun. E., 34, Seymour street, Chorley
abc Sealy, Rev. E. W., 373, Rividge road, Blackburn
ab Sexton, James, C.C., 46, Hanover street, Liverpool
abc Short, Coun. A. W., 8, Brook road, Bootle
abc Simmons, Tom, 34, Duke street, Clayton-le-Moors, near Blackburn
bc Smith, A., 50, Lathbury road, Harpurhey, Manchester
Smith, John, 598, Lees road, Oldham
abc Standring, J. H., J.P., 27, Greenfield road, St. Helens
c Stapley, T., Bertie road, Wrexham
abc Stewart, Alex., care of Engineer's Hall, College street, Belfast

- Stockman, H. R., 44, Annalee street, Belfast
 bc Stott, Coun. Fred, 160, Battersley lane, Warrington
 Stott, James, 349, Ripponden road, Oldham
 abc Stott, J. W., 2, Sutcliffe street, Littleborough
 abc Taylor, M., Antioch, Rakewood, Littleborough
 abc Taylor, S., 38, Exeter street, St. Helens.
 abc Thompson, G., Lisson Grove, Hale, near Altrincham, Cheshire
 Thompson, J. F., 11, Earl street, Lower Broughton, Manchester
 Thompson, R. W., 36, College street, St. Helens
 abc Todd, Lancaster, Netherton, Maryport
 abc Walkden, Jas., Turf terrace, Littleborough
 abc Walker, Wm., 111, Limestone road, Belfast
 b Wall, William, 84, Aldren's lane, Lancaster
 abc Wallhead, R. C., Manchester road, Wilmslow, Cheshire
 bc Walls, Patrick, Post Office, Westfield, Workington
 c Wardman, Henry, 18, Roome street, Warrington
 b Webster, John Henry, 81, Higginbotham street, Macclesfield
 abc Welland, F. J., 22, Amphthill road, Aigburth, Liverpool
 abc White, W., 64, Woodville terrace, Liverpool
 b Williams, Coun. J., 5, Bridle road, Crewe
 a Williams, R. Pierce, 116, Lovely lane, Warrington
 abc Williams, Coun. William, 6, Saunders street, Crewe
 abc Wilson, R. H., 56, Featherstall road, Littleborough
 ab Witts, R. B., 76, Queen street, Crewe
 abc Woollerton, A., 49, Moorside road, Heaton Moor, near Manchester

DIVISION V.

SOUTH WALES AND WEST OF ENGLAND.

- abc Andrews, Thomas, Bryn Eglwys, Brynteg terrace, Treharris
 b Barnett, J. W., 50, Briton Ferry road, Neath
 ab Bayliss, E. K., 14, Salisbury road, St. Anne's Park, Brislington, Bristol
 abc Belcher, Rev. J. H., 53, Peverell Park road, Plymouth
 abc Bennett, William, Collingwood, Newton Abbott
 abc Beynon, John, 19, The Avenue, Merthyr
 abc Blackledge, William, 28, Windsor road, Griffithstown, near Newport
 a Bowen, J. (English or Welsh), 7, Beaconsfield terrace, Herbert road, Neath
 ac Caswell, H. C., Kingston road, Rowbarton, Taunton
 abc Chappell, Edgar L., Glynleiros, Ystalyfera
 ac Colbeck, Rev. W. H., Bushy Park, Pontypool
 ab Colwill, Counc. Geo., 18, Windmill terrace, Swansea
 bc Cook, W. L., 41, Philip street, Blaenavon, Mon.
 c Cronin, D., 19, The Horsefair, Bristol
 b Curle, Alderman J., J.P., 133, Wells road, Totterdown, Bristol
 bc Davies, District Coun., Neuaudd road, Gwauncaegurwen
 abc Davies, Harry, 8, London terrace, Cwmavon, Glamorganshire
 abc Davies, Rev. John, Bronywern, Ystalyfera
 c Davies, Richard, 14, Stuart street, Merthyr
 abc Davies, T. E., Mining Lecturer, Trimsaran, Carm.
 abc Dean, John, 11, Woodland road, Maindee, Newport, Mon.
 ac Downie, John, 1, Bengal villas, Pembroke
 ac Edwards, Wyndham I., 6, Michaelstone terrace, Cwmavon
 abc Edmunds, J. E., School House, Taff's Well, Cardiff
 ab E. Ellery, 21, King Square avenue, Bristol
 a Esmond, J. V., B.Sc., 19, Alexander terrace, Swansea
 abc Evans, T. J., 6, Morgan street, Merthyr

- a Fox, Charles H., The Breezes, Upton St, Leonords, Glos'ter
 bc Francis, H. M., Jubilee Cottages, Penydarren, Merthyr
 bc Freeman, F., 19, Westminster road, Whitehall, Bristol
 abc Gay, W., 12, Glendower road, Plymouth
 bc Giles, Matt., Grove place, Swansea
 abc Graham, Jas., 161, Railway street, Cardiff
 bc Griffiths, Thomas, 50, Caerau road, Caerau
 bc Gwynne, Coun. Ivor, Belle Vue street, Swansea
 abc Hancock, R., 166, Alexander road, Plymouth
 abc Harris, William, 16, Norman terrace, Merthyr
 bc Hicks, Alfred, 5, Victoria street, Caerau
 ac Hill, Mrs., 98, Diana street, Cardiff
 ab Hughes, Rev. Enoch, Bryneithin, Cwmtwrch
 b Huins, C. P., Ena road, Neath
 abc Jackson, George, 88, Sutton road, Newport, Mon.
 abc James, District Coun. J. (Welsh only), Cwmgorse, Gwauncaegurwen
 ab Jones, G. F., 66, Coburg road, Ashley Hill, Bristol
 abc Kelly, J. A., 42, Woodland road, Barry
 bc King, T. C., Bryneithyn, Cwmtwrch
 c Knight, H. C., 486, Fishpond's road, Bristol
 abc Lawrence, William, 1, Lewis terrace, Penydarren, Merthyr
 a Martin, R. M., 2, Primrose Cottages, Merthyr
 ac Melhuish, G. H., 8, Cromwell street, Pembroke Dock
 b Morgan, Jenkin, Victoria Gardens road, Neath
 abc Moon, Arch. A., Pen-y-Parc, St. Mark's crescent, Newport, Mon.
 bc Morris, Alderman W. H., 16, Hafod street, Swansea
 c Neft, R., 19, London road, Neath
 abc Neighbour, Rev. G., 32, Ceriduen street, Mountain Ash.
 bc Oaten, T., 27, Albemarle road, Taunton
 abc Orchard, A. H., 99, Glendower road, Plymouth
 abc Organ, F., 44, Brunswick street, Swindon
 c Parry, T., 22, Hope street, Blaina, Mon.
 ac Phillips, Tom, Jessamine Villa, Ridgway road, Fishponds, Bristol
 abc Prince, S. G., 7, Carlton terrace, St. Jude's, Plymouth
 abc Proctor, T., 2, Boscawen place, Devonport
 abc Quiningborough, H., 5, Alma street, Merthyr
 abc Ramsay, Rev. G. A., B.A., A.K.C.L., The Rectory, Writhlington, Bath
 abc Reed, E. C., 17, Penllyn road, Cardiff
 abc Rees, Samuel, 9, William's place, Penydarren, Merthyr
 bc Richards, Dd., 97, Sydney street, Swansea
 abc Ridgway, P., 74, Diamond street, Cardiff
 a Roberts, W. J., 20, George street, Swindon
 a Roberts, W. J., M.A., Llanishen, near Cardiff
 abc Roderick, Rev. W. D., Rhiwfawr, Cwmtwrch, R.S.O.
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Socialism.

MOST people have heard the story of the so-called Socialists who waited on Mr. Rothschild, the Paris Banker, during the Revolution of 1848, and called upon him to divide his wealth. Grasping the situation, he gave them each a franc as their portion of his wealth, and dismissed them. This same tale has done good service in many forms. Sometimes we meet it in the man who has two cottages, or in the man who has two pigs, which he is called upon to divide; but whatever shape the tale takes, the clear idea in the minds of the teller is, that Socialists must be men with weak heads, even if they have good hearts. Now, it is evident to these people that Socialism means only an equal division of the wealth of the country among the people. They dispose at once of Socialism by pointing out that if the wealth were equally divided to day, to-morrow we should again have the same inequalities in the condition of the people. We find this travesty of Socialism and this answer repeated in the press, on the platform, and from the pulpit—and many men believe it.

If anyone gives the subject a moment's thought, he will see that the nation has already so many divisions in every sphere, that there is hardly room for another. We find class divided against class, creed against creed, interest against interest, landowner against manufacturer, men against masters, and masters against men, one employer against another, and the workman against his mate. These divisions run so deep that the nation is practically in a state of civil war, in which every man's hand is against his neighbour. Masters' Federations and Trade Unions have somewhat modified this condition, but only to make it more visible. Now, it is not into such a chaos that further division need be brought. We have already too much division. Socialists see this perhaps more clearly than other people. They realise that in all the divisions that have so far taken place, the result has always been that the many have fared badly, whilst the few have fared well. The dividing seems always to have been arranged on the plan of the man who had the duck and the crow to divide. "Here," he cried, "let us divide. You shall have the crow and I will take the duck. Or I will have the duck and you shall take the crow." Division always means that the stronger class takes the duck and the weaker receives the crow. "Choose," say the ruling classes. "You shall have the work, and we will take the fruits, or we will

have the fruits and you shall take the work." This division still obtains, and the few take the fruits of the earth, whilst the many toil to produce them.

Instead, therefore, of making confusion worse confounded by introducing fresh divisions, Socialists wish to bring unity and organisation into society. They propose that an end be put to divisions, and that the opposite principle be adopted; that, in future, we cease to divide, and begin to put all things together for the common good. We find, on investigation, that the foundations of this principle of collective ownership have already been well and truly laid in society. Co-operative production has long been the established method of industry in mill, workshop and factory. The various industries of the country are amalgamating and becoming monopolies and trusts. Order and unity are everywhere emerging from the competition and divisions of the nineteenth century. In this industrial evolution, Socialists find the germ and promise of a new society, in which the principle of collectivism will control not only the production of wealth but its distribution also. When the production of wealth was an individual or family affair, it was natural and inevitable that the individual should own it, and that the principle of individualism should be the active principle of society. Now all production is co-operative, and distribution alone remains individualistic. For the wealth produced by organised labour at the base of society, there is a mad scramble and gamble at the top. One class produces without enjoying, and another class enjoys without producing. This is an unnatural condition and cannot endure, for the methods of production determine in the long run the methods of distribution, and as production is now co-operative, so distribution must follow and become co-operative also. Another factor in the present time is that the class who produce without enjoying is the class in whose hands political power is now vested, and who, by their votes, may decide for collective ownership. The line of least resistance towards collective ownership is by means of municipalisation and nationalisation, and we find this form of communal ownership is growing fast throughout the nation.

COMMUNISM.

There have been attempts in all ages to introduce some system of holding things in common, in order to alleviate and soften the hard struggle with nature for food, clothing and shelter. These efforts were mainly confined to distribution, whilst production still remained individualistic, and consequently they were like plants without roots, at the mercy of every wind that blew. Even this voluntary communism rendered the workers too independent for the governing classes, and the jealousy of Church and State invariably destroyed it, as the Russian village communes are now being destroyed by the Government. The collectivism that is arising to-day has not the same dangers to

face. It has its roots firmly embedded in co-operative production, from which it is growing as the plant grows from its seed. The former positions of individualism and communism are now completely reversed. Whilst previously communism was largely voluntary and insecure, being built on a foundation of individualism, we now find that it is individualism that has few roots left in industry to-day. It rests on a foundation of co-operation, and is, therefore, doomed to extinction, passing surely away as co-operation in industry becomes more and more complete.

Communism has existed in every age of the world. We find it in the most primitive society, as among the North American Indians; it is seen in the Buddhist monasteries, the Russian Mir, the Japanese Dessa, the French villages; it was favoured by Pythagoras, Plato and Aristotle. A notable instance of holding all things in common is that of the early Christians, those who had known Christ in person. These ardent followers of Christ were very zealous, full of the teachings of their Master, and anxious to found at once the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. No sooner was He dead than they brought all their wealth and put it into a common fund, nor said any one that which he had was his own. From the common stock thus formed, each took that which he needed. This extremely simple method of holding all things in common did not last more than five or six years, though it prevailed in some degree or other among many of the early churches for some centuries. It broke down from the system of society being one that did not permit of communism. As already stated, wealth was produced by each man working alone, and he naturally claimed the product. Another difficulty was that those who were not Christians were tempted to join the community in order that they might share the loaves and fishes. This simple method of holding in common is still too open to abuse, even after all the centuries that have elapsed since the time of Christ. There are still too many anxious to share the good things of life without toiling for them. There are the landlords and capitalists and tramps, whom we have trained for many generations to do no useful work, and who now look upon labour as beneath the dignity of a gentleman. These people would still want to share in the common fund as they do to-day without adding to it. The method we must adopt is one that will preclude the idler from sharing with the worker.

COLLECTIVISM.

A far more important and instructive example of Socialism is one that has stood the storm and stress of many, perhaps millions of generations, one that has grown up naturally without artificial aid. The family circle is such a one. It has stood the test of barbarism and civilisation, it is found in every country, in every clime, and among every people. It remains with us to-day stronger even than in the earliest ages of the world. We

find its beginnings, far up the stream of life, in the animal kingdom before man was born, at that early period in the world's history, when nature first made a mother to tend her young.

Such a method, that has endured so long, is a sure guide for us to follow. It is always safe to copy nature when we can, and she has here provided us with a perfect model, which, if it can be extended to our social system, is all we need. The principle on which family life rests is most simple, and it is that the parents shall act as trustees for the members of the family. Under their trusteeship, the house, the furniture, the food, the clothing, and all things in the home are held by them for the use of the family in common.

As though to make assurance doubly sure in taking the family circle as the model on which to fashion our future commonwealth, the Socialist can point to the wide spread beginnings of this system already visible in society.* All that remains for us to do is to co-operate with it, and march forward on the path of progress already so well defined. Let us take an example.

In the village where I live, only a few of the cottages have gardens attached. Feeling the need of gardens and playgrounds, the villagers bought a large plot of land. It was not divided, giving each family a small plot useless for any purpose, but following the example of the family circle, they chose trustees to hold this land on behalf of the whole community. As is usual in such cases, they selected the District Council, who now stand to the villagers in the same relation that the father and mother do in the family circle. The Mayor of a town in the olden days was always looked upon as the father of the people. Thus, in Bristol and Exeter, and probably in other towns, he was the guardian of the widows and orphans, and, in Bristol, had to promise "to keep, maintain, and defend the widows and orphans in their rights." In thus making our Councils the trustees for the community, we are simply reviving a good old custom. To resume, the park in our village now belongs to us all in common for our use. We can walk in it and admire the flowers and shrubs, use the seats and enjoy the scenery, our children can play in it, and have a better time than if the park were divided into numerous small patches for each family. We have the same rights in it that children have in the home, where everything is enjoyed in common, subject to the regulations made by the parents.

We in this country have not acted wisely in allowing so much of our native land to be made into private property. On the Continent they showed greater foresight. Forseeing the great benefit to be derived from owning the adjoining land, the towns acquired much of it through their Councils. Thus in Bavaria and Wurtemberg most towns now receive

* For further consideration of the rise of Socialism see *Socialism and Service*, 1d. I.L.P. Head Office.

so large an income from the town lands that they are free from local rates. It has been calculated that if Manchester owned the land on which the town is built, it would in four years from now be absolutely free from local rates, whereas they stand at 8s. in the £ and are increasing. In other towns in Germany they are able to regulate the growth of the towns, plan them out, and instead of the outskirts growing into slums they are pleasantly set out with broad avenues, parks, and recreation grounds. Some districts are allotted to dwelling houses, others to works, warehouses, and industry generally. Other quarters are devoted to the municipal and other public buildings. In this manner there arises a town of which the inhabitants may be proud, but who can feel any pride in the hap-hazard, squalid towns that have grown up in our manufacturing districts.

Another great advantage accrues to the people from holding land in common, which is that all increase in value belongs to those who create the value by their presence on the land. There is no value in land where there are no people on it or near it. Land, therefore, should be a communal possession. When land is privately owned and no free land exists, the people are divided into two classes, those who toil to keep themselves and others and those others who have the privilege of being kept without working. If the community owned the land, this latter class could not continue a parasitic career and the workers would be freed from the burden of supporting an idle class. This is one of the divisions that the common sense of the people should at once stop.

PRODUCTION IN COMMON.

The purchase of a park is the simplest example of holding in common that can be taken. Let us now take an example of a rather more complex nature. In this same village we have two gas companies, one is a joint stock company which serves one half of the village with gas, and the other is a municipal supply of gas from an adjoining town. When we examine these two gas supplies we find them very different. The joint stock company does not exist really for the supply of gas, it only supplies gas in order to make dividends for the shareholders. All private businesses are carried on to make profit and for no other purpose. Of course, the gas company cannot earn dividends without supplying gas, because it cannot charge for gas we do not consume; if it could, there is little doubt that it would do so. It is not more than five or six years ago, that the dry summer limited the London water companies in their water supply. They had the legal power to charge for the water whether they supplied it or not, so when the quarter day came round the bills came in as usual and the company paid its ordinary dividend. It is therefore no libel on the gas company to say that it would do the same, for a water company is quite as moral as a gas company. As a gas company exists

primarily for making dividends and not gas, it naturally supplies us with the worst gas that it dare at the price that will produce the highest dividend, not necessarily the highest price. No one can say that this is the best method of supplying gas to our homes, nor will it commend itself to anyone who is not a shareholder. Yet it is on this principle that we allow ourselves to be fed, clothed, housed, and taken care of generally. We therefore get slums to live in, Chicago tinned meat to eat, shoddy clothes to wear, arsenical beer and alcoholic temperance drinks, jerry furniture, brown paper soles to our boots, etc., etc.

Let us now look at the municipal supply of gas. The citizens own the gas works in common, as in the village we own the park. The land was bought and the works erected by the Town Council as trustees acting for the whole community. The municipal gas works do not exist to make a profit. They were built for one purpose only, and that purpose was to manufacture gas and supply it to the citizens. We therefore get exactly the quality of gas we pay for. We engage the most capable gas engineers in the country, the most up-to-date plant is bought, and in every way the Town Council is capable of making as good gas as any private gas company. As there are no shareholders hungry for dividends, the Town can supply gas cheaper than a private company. If it makes a profit it benefits no one—it is returned to the citizens in the form of reduced rates. It comes out of one pocket and goes back into the other.

This then is another and more complex example of holding things in common, but, as will be seen, it is a method which may be applied to many others of our wants besides gas and water. The number of different things now held by the people is very large, and there is nothing, it would seem, which this method of holding in common cannot embrace. Thus the army and navy are now held in common. At one time they were privately owned, like the factories are to-day. They were used for purposes of plunder, and made quite as good dividends for the barons of old as the gas companies make for their shareholders to-day. Ruskin calls them the "crag barons" as against our present "bag barons." The postal and telegraph services are thus held. Some nations now manufacture matches, tobacco, chocolate, alcoholic liquors, and own their own railways and minerals. Some towns hold parks, harbours, markets, baths, trams, museums, libraries, picture galleries and many other things too numerous to mention. Some towns have even their municipal theatres and newspapers. It is curious how slow the people have been in making use of this method of providing the necessities of life for themselves. By means of this system, we can provide not only trams and gas and water, but also houses, milk, bread, coal, clothes, every thing in fact that we have to live by. It would simply mean that these things would be supplied to us at cost price without any private trader being allowed to make a profit out of them. It is now 550 years since

this plan was preached to the people by the mad priest of Kent, yet it has taken us all these centuries to reach the height of his madness. His folly is becoming the wisdom of the 20th century. Here are his words:—"Good people," cried John Ball, "things will never go well in England so long as goods be not in common, and so long as there be villeins and gentlemen. By what right are they whom we call lords greater folk than we? Why do they hold us in serfage? if it be not that they make us gain for them by our toil what they spend in their pride. They are clothed in velvet and warm in their furs and ermines, while we are covered with rags. They have leisure and fine houses; we have pain and labour, and the wind in the fields. And yet is it of us that these men hold their state." To these words the people listened gladly. They rose in revolt, but the priest was hanged and the people betrayed. There has since been many a bitter struggle to throw off the yoke of landlord and capitalist, but they have been vain. It was not until co-operation in mills and workshops began, that the path to liberty became clear and defined, for the logical sequence of co-operative production is co-operative ownership.

The Town Council is, already, in many towns the largest employer of labour. As new services are taken over, this number will grow very rapidly. Many towns have already fixed a minimum wage. In Manchester it is 25s. a week, which may be taken as an average. Some towns pay more, others less. In this way the lowest wage for which the people ought to work is being slowly fixed throughout the country. As this minimum wage becomes more common, it will gradually become the lowest wage that the workers will accept from private employers. As this power rests in the hands of the workers through their voting strength, the speed at which this method of helping themselves shall extend, depends upon themselves.

Another effect of holding in common is that wages will buy things more cheaply than they do to-day, for there will be no profit made from those things that the people own in common. Thus the 25s. per week will go much further in buying household goods than it does to-day. By municipal trading, as it is called, the workers will gain at both ends. They will receive higher wages and the wages will buy more. Even to-day with those things we already hold in common, we are getting better value for our money. We pay less for riding in trams, gas and water are cheaper, museums and picture galleries can be seen for nothing, and many other advantages accrue from co-operative effort which the individual alone could never gain. "Life in association," says Mr. Kropotkin, "is the most powerful weapon in the struggle for life taken in its widest sense. It enables the feeblest insect, the feeblest birds, and the feeblest mammals to resist or protect themselves from the most terrible birds and beasts of prey."

RIGHTS OF THE COMMUNITY.

Some may question the right of the Community to take over the wealth of the nation and to use the ability or genius of the individual for the benefit of the citizens in common. If we study for a moment the possessions of any man in the community, we find that of himself there is little, his capacity, his genius, his knowledge, his inventions, his opportunities, his wealth, nay, his language, his creed, his very thoughts are communal rather than personal possessions, and have required millions of generations to develop. All that we have and are, are the result of the work and thought of our forefathers, to which we add our mite as we pass. A Shakespeare and a Milton, a Wellington and a Napoleon, a Darwin and a Huxley, an Arkright or an Edison are but the products of their age. The times of Queen Elizabeth produced a galaxy of literary talent as the present age produces the inventor and the organiser. If a man invents, it is but a slight addition to, or adaption of, some previous invention or machine. If a man becomes wealthy he but draws a greater share to himself of the communal production; if a man becomes a great artist, he but fixes on canvas the thoughts and feelings of his age by aid of the skill inherited from the past. Take two cases of the almost spontaneous origin of ideas, showing that they are rather communal than individual. Lavoisier and Priestly, one in France and one in England, each discovered oxygen at the same time, and it is stated that some years earlier Scheele in Sweden also discovered it. Again, Darwin and Wallace, working entirely apart, each discovered the central fact of the modern theory of evolution—"the survival of the fittest"—at the same moment. In this way our possessions, whether material, mental or moral, belong to the race rather than to the individual, and may therefore be rightfully taken over by the Community and used for its own benefit, knowing full well that each man will then receive far more wealth, whether material or mental, than in a state of nature, he could ever secure by his own unaided efforts.

This is the real point at issue between the Socialist and the Individualist. Should personal possessions, whether material or mental, be used in the service of the community or in the service of self and the exploitation of the community? That the Socialist theory is the nobler is admitted by individualists, in their efforts to justify their theory by saying, that a man cannot serve himself without at the same time serving the community. In other words, that they incidentally serve the community through service to themselves. The Socialist theory is that he shall serve himself through service to the community. We know to our sorrow the price that has to be paid for the selfishness of individualism, with its enervating luxury for the few and degrading poverty for the many.

THE STATE.

The Socialist view of the rights of the Community as against the individual entails an equally high conception of the duties of the State. To him the State is the organisation of humanity for the service of the individual. We thus exalt the State that it may exalt the individual. Burke, writing a century ago said : "The State is a partnership in all science, a partnership in all art, a partnership in every virtue and perfection." From this conception arises the equal right of every living partner, i.e., of every citizen in the State, to enjoy in common the great heritage of the past, to partake of the fruit of that heritage as it grows and ripens in our day, and to pass it on unsullied and increased to future generations. It becomes, therefore, the duty of the State in its own interest to see that each individual, and not a favoured few only, born into the community shall be physically and mentally and morally fit for his great destiny, a partnership in the legacy from the past.

This view of the duty of the State necessitates that nothing shall stand between each individual and his full development and complete liberty. We are thus brought at the first step towards the realisation of our ideal into conflict with the rights of property. As Socialists we only see and know the rights of humanity, and neither property nor any other non-human thing may come between the individual and his highest development. There can be no rights of property which do not reduce in some degree human liberty. In the present conflict which Socialists are waging against property, the issue is certain that no property will be regarded as private which is hurtful to other individuals or restrictive of their liberty. On the other hand, under Socialism the amount of wealth which will be created will be so great that the personal and private possessions of each person, useful and necessary, will be vastly increased beyond the dreams of to-day.

The Liberty and Property Defence League hold that no person can be free without property ; so say also the Socialists. All personal liberty has its foundations in economic liberty, and without this basic freedom all political and social freedom is a delusion and a snare. Whilst, however, the League defends the present owners in their possession of the means by which the many have to live, the Socialists point out that this private ownership and control of land and capital by a few families deprives 38,000,000 of the people of property, and therefore of liberty, whilst it gives other 5,000,000 not only liberty, but license, and a controlling power over other human beings. To this control they are not entitled by any right, human or divine. By transferring land and capital to the collective ownership of the people, every citizen enters into the community as a partner in that property which is essential to life. The present need for private accumulations will be gone, and we shall not need to take thought for the morrow, of what we shall eat and drink.

It would be as foolish under collective ownership of capital individually to hoard wealth as it would be foolish under the municipal water and gas supply to hoard water and gas by filling all the vessels of the home. By thus becoming a partner in the communal possessions, the people would gain the greatest liberty possible compatible with the equal liberty of others. As John Stuart Mill said: "The restraints of communism would be freedom itself in comparison with the present conditions of the majority of the human race." The freedom of each must always be bounded by the equal freedom of all.

In thus laying the foundations of equal liberty for all, we are preparing the way and making straight the path for a higher morality than the world has yet seen. We are creating the forms into which the breath of a higher life shall be breathed, and without which it cannot exist, and circumstances which will give each man equal opportunities of social service according to his natural abilities, which it will be the interest of the State to develop to their utmost.

Whilst Socialists are thus prepared to aggrandise the State as the instrument by which the higher life for all is to be attained, they distinguish between the State and the Government. The functions of the Government have so far been used to exalt the sanctity of wealth over the sacredness of human life. Government has always so far been an organisation of a minority ruling in their own interests the majority. We hold with Plato that "the truth is that the State in which rulers are the most reluctant to govern, is best and most quietly governed, and the State in which they are the most willing, is worst."

The Socialist would completely change the functions of the Government. Instead of continuing it as the ruler over persons, he would make it the organiser and distributor of the material things of our life.

With the beginning of last century a change was seen in the spirit of Government and the work of the first half of the century was mainly devoted to sweeping away the innumerable acts which curtail the liberty of the subject. Thus the act which empowered the magistrates to fix the wages and hours of the workers was repealed: the innumerable acts dealing with trade, the press, the right of public assembly and many more were repealed. On the other hand we see the beginning of those acts which free men from the domination of private property. We see the hand of Government slowly but surely closing in on the industrial conditions of mills and workshops, etc., humanising them, and regulating them, assuming the right to control private industrial concerns, which goes far beyond the thin edge of the wedge towards eventual state ownership. We see the municipalities assuming the same rights over property and houses, closing thousands of them without compensation as unfit for human habitation, making regulations for the erection of dwelling houses and treating property as though it were

inferior in value to human life. In this way the functions of Government are being transformed from the rule over persons to the control of industrial processes, freeing men at the same time from the tyranny of vested interests.

TAXATION.

The progress towards holding all things in common is thus making great strides in many directions. We see first the increasing collective ownership of innumerable undertakings by the State or Municipality, which were previously left to private enterprise. Secondly, we find the gradual assertion of the right to regulate and control every industrial undertaking in the common interest, a first step towards State ownership. There still remains a third way, and that is in the increasing demand by the State for a share of the profits in all undertakings and of all incomes. This undisputed partnership right is asserted through the power to tax, to extinction if necessary, all incomes. This power to tax has always been used by the class in power to develop or increase their own wealth. By the landlords it was used to tax all food stuffs, entering the country, in order to get higher prices for food, and, therefore, higher farm rents. By the manufacturers it was used to extend the markets of the country, that their industrial undertakings might increase and yield greater profits. The financiers are now using it to increase their dividends and give greater security to foreign loans and undertakings. We had the Egyptian campaign waged on behalf of the bondholders, which increased the value of Egyptian bonds by about 50 per cent., and we have just emerged from the Boer war which secured cheaper labour for the gold mines.

This power to tax is now passing with political power from the hands of the classes to the hands of the masses. It is certain that the right to tax will be as unsparingly used by the people in their own interests as ever it has been used by rulers in the past. How then will they use their power, and to what end? What are their possessions, the value of which will be increased by the use of public money? They own neither houses nor land, nor works, nor bonds; they have but one possession—their own lives. Here, in the great scheme of evolution, lies the safety of the future. There can be no selfishness in their application of the taxes. Whilst the classes have in all ages ruthlessly sacrificed human life and well-being to private property, the workers can, at the utmost, sacrifice monopoly and vested interests to human life. The workers form no separate caste into which entrance is difficult or impossible. They stand on the lowest rung of the social ladder, their ranks are open to all, and all they gain for themselves is gained for humanity—for human life and its advancement.

They will therefore demand life, and life more abundantly—physical, intellectual, and moral. Last year Parliament spent not less than ninety millions, one-twentieth of the total income

of the nation, for the destruction of human life. The demands of Socialism are that taxes shall be spent, not for the destruction of human life, but for its salvation. The more Parliament can be forced to spend the taxes for the humanising of life, the more unwilling will it be to waste so much on war and the preparations for war. Taxation thus becomes a powerful lever in the hands of the people to moralize the Government, and a strong weapon in the fight against the exploitation of the community. In conjunction with the other forces it aids the transfer of property from the private ownership of a few to the collective ownership of the many.

INCENTIVE.

When the collective ownership of all things in common becomes an established fact, and the material existence of all is thus guaranteed by the State through the perfect organisation of industry, it is prophesied that all incentive to further effort will be gone. The desire for wealth is said to be the motive power of all progress, and under Socialism, as our physical wants will be supplied by the community, this incentive will cease and with it progress. We may, however, question whether in the realms of thought, science, art, in fact, in all beyond the mere material, this factor is as potent as many think. If we take at random a few names from the great men of the nineteenth century, we see that with them it had no influence. Take Burns, Byron, Darwin, Huxley, Tyndal, Spencer, Pitt, Fox, Disraeli, Gladstone, Watts, Wm. Morris, and many more. It is doubtful, if in one of these lives, such an incentive had the slightest power.

Under Socialism, however, there will be as strong incentives as any which exist to-day. It will not, however, be the pursuit of wealth, in which success means the gaining and cornering of the means by which the many live, making them slaves to the successful few and causing ruin and misery and vilest degradation to millions. The incentives under Socialism will be the desire for honour, position and influence, and they will exercise as great a fascination over men's minds as ever did the lust for gold. Not only will the scope for ambition be as great as it is to day, but as the competitors will be the whole of a trained and educated nation, the attributes that will ennoble and raise a man above his peers, will not be the limited capacity required to-day that makes a man great in a nation of half-starved, wholly uneducated workers. Ambition will require infinitely greater intellectual powers and moral force to raise a man above millions of his equals. The genius required will be as vastly greater as the competitors are more numerous and more able.

One of the greatest of the problems that socialism solves, is to make the ambition of the individual minister to the well-being of the nation. Personal ambition and the community's welfare will run on parallel lines, instead of, as at present, at

right angles. Those, who have ambition for public life, will be able to gratify that ambition only through service to the common weal. In such a state the genius of a Rockefeller would be of inestimable value in working for the common good. The position he would attain in providing for the nation's material wants as its organiser-in-chief, in touch with the uttermost parts of the earth, with his finger on the food and other supplies in every corner of the globe, would require an ability far greater than he requires to-day. Instead of being detested as the spoiler of a nation, he would be held in universal honor as the capable head of probably the most extensive public department in the kingdom. The inventor would deserve and gain far more honor than he receives to-day. The scientist, whether as chemist, electrician, astronomer or other branch, will find equal opportunities for service. The artist and literary man will be more needed in a nation of cultured people than in a nation where few men are educated. The public taste will be more exacting and demand a far higher standard than to-day. But in no case under socialism will a man be able to serve the community from a mere love of money. It will possess no value when it can buy no menial service. The struggle for a mere material existence will have ceased, for it will be each one's birthright. The rivalry will thus be on a higher plane than that which obtains to-day in the service of mammon, the competitors far more able and numerous, and progress correspondingly greater and faster. Socialism will create conditions in which no man will benefit by exploiting his fellow man, and will raise the moral level of humanity to a height hitherto unseen. It will develop a society in which the now excluded masses will meet the favoured few of to-day on a footing of perfect equality, and will raise competition as a cause of progress, which to-day is a mere brutal fight for a livelihood, to the highest state of efficiency yet attained.

SOCIALISM.

It will thus be seen that the charges which are so often made against Socialism that it is materialistic, and on the other hand that Socialists are dreamers of dreams and unpractical idealists, are both untrue. Socialism is neither materialistic nor are Socialists unpractical. Let us take one case which embraces both charges. We wish every child to have a thorough intellectual training, passing through all grades from the primary school to the university. This is our ideal in education. We do not preach it in the air. But knowing full well that many thousands of children go to school unfed, and realising that hungry children cannot be taught, we concentrate not on the University, but on feeding hungry children as the first step. After many years of agitation we have gained this first point, and in 1906 secured the "Feeding of School Children Bill." We thus gain a good physical condition for the children, know-

ing that without a well-nourished body mental training is wasted. We are thus eminently practical in our dreams of universal education. But we are not materialists in this matter, for the feeding of school children is but the means to an end, nor does this method prove that we are unpractical idealists.

In the same way with the adults of the race, we desire that their education shall not be wasted, but that all men shall be cultured and free to devote themselves to the higher life, for which their training in youth is but preparatory. We desire that peace, goodwill, and brotherhood shall be the lot of all mankind. We know full well that there is but small chance of a cultured and spiritual life when the majority of men must spend their lives in securing a material existence. The aims of a man's life determine his character, and if his aim be material then there is a tendency for his life as a whole to lose its spirituality and become materialistic. We know also that there cannot be peace and brotherhood whilst individuals and nations are fighting each other for markets and for mere food, clothing, and habitation. As in the case of school children, we see that we must as a first step conquer the material in order to free the mental and the moral. Our first aim then must be to control the organisation of production and distribution for the physical wants of men. This we propose to do in the manner already described, and we concentrate on this industrial reorganisation, not as an end in itself, but as the first step towards the realisation of a cultured humanity and of peace on earth, goodwill to men. This first step attained, the material part of our lives will no longer absorb us, but will be relegated to its proper sphere. The starting point of each man will then be the point where to-day few men even end their lives, and we shall each and all stand freed from material cares, ready for an advance into the realms of the intellectual and spiritual.

It is this desire to subdue the material and place it under our feet, which leads many to think that Socialism is a mere glorified materialism. As in the feeding of school children, it is but a means to an end. Socialism has as an end the highest possible development of each and every human being, mentally and morally, so that

“Soaring on the seraph wings of thought,
We leave the present high and mighty though it be,
But a lower circle in the ascending scale
Of endless immortality.”

Socialism and Service

**By
T. D. Benson.**



**Price
One
Penny.**

725th thousand.

**PUBLISHED BY THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY,
23, BRIDE LANE, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.**

Socialism and Service.

All departments of knowledge which deal with social phenomena have their true foundation in the biological science.

BENJAMIN KIDD.

THE election of 1906 saw a revival of the struggle between Capitalism and Landlordism, which all thought had been finally settled in the days of Cobden and Bright. The majority of working men, as might have been expected, threw their electoral influence on the side of Capitalism, when they had not the opportunity to vote Labour. Though both landlords and capitalists are most undesirable representatives of the workers, there is not a solitary point to be urged in favour of landlords. Landlordism was, is, and ever will be purely parasitic, taking all and giving nothing. Capitalism, on the other hand, has had its uses. It broke through the stagnant individualism of the eighteenth century, which threatened to make our civilisation as non-progressive as that of the Chinese, and opened out a new era. It gained the victory in the long struggle between man and nature for subsistence by the invention and use of the steam engine and labour saving machinery; it organised the workers of the world into the true form of service, as I shall show; it increased wealth a thousand fold, broke down the barriers between nations, brought woman from the home into public life, and as its final and greatest boon to mankind is slowly but surely abolishing itself. For all this no thanks are due to it; it has followed ever its own selfish interests, blindly, not caring whither it was going, careless of the misery it produced, and regarding not the degradation it forced on the people, generation after generation. This we know and feel, but now that its days are drawing to a close we can see the work it has done, understand its mission, and estimate its services.

When we analyse the present structure of society, and see where Capitalism has landed us, we are struck with the fact that the principles which it has developed and which are permeating our industrial system are the same principles that exist in the human body. This may seem strange until we realise that the capitalistic era is but a stage in the long evolution of society. There is little doubt, as Haeckel says, that "the whole world is constituted and has been developed according to one

common fundamental law." We may extend this idea, and say that not only the universe, but the body of man and society itself, develop through the same force, and must therefore include each on its own plane, the same principles.

We find that in the early stages of the development of the body, as of society, there is no clue to the shape and beauty of the perfect form. At times some slight resemblance in some particular part appears, some hint of that which is to be, is given, only to vanish in the next higher stage. Professor Drummond picturesquely describes this process. "The human form," he says, "does not begin as a human form ; it begins as an animal, and at first and for a long time to come there is nothing wearing the remotest semblance to humanity. What meets the eye is a vast procession of the lower forms of life, a succession of strange inhuman creatures, and it is only after prolonged and unrecognisable series of metamorphoses that they culminate in some faint likeness to him who is one of the newest and yet one of the oldest of created things." Society, in like manner, has been, and still is, passing through a series of strange shapes, of which the ultimate form is unrecognisable, or was until recently, bearing but small resemblance to that perfect society wherein, as St. Paul stated, "We are all members one of another." Still there must come a time in its growth when we, who are living in society, shall recognise the path we are treading, and foresee the ultimate goal of our efforts. Some of us even now believe that social evolution has arrived at that point, when we can see the next stage in our career ; that our social system has so far taken shape that we may even now become active and conscious partners with "that power outside ourselves" that makes for progress. If this be true, then, as Frederick Engels says, "The whole sphere of the conditions that environ man, and which have hitherto ruled man, comes under the dominion and control of man, who for the first time becomes the real conscious lord of nature. It is ascent from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom." The question then that concerns us is—is there sufficient evidence of a new system of society to-day to enable us to forecast the next stage of social evolution ? Karl Marx more than fifty years ago, in his analysis of industrial conditions, pointed out the developments that would take place in the industrial world. Since then, these changes have sped on at an ever-quickenning pace, and afford now a far wider basis for forecasting the next stage of human progress, and for ascertaining the principle on which it will be founded, than was possible in his day.

The Universal Principle.

"Two things," says Mazzini, "are essential to the realisation of the progress we seek—the declaration of a principle, and its incarnation in action." There is but small difficulty in finding the principle we seek, it is the universal principle that permeates

all nature—the principle of use or service. The principle of use is, according to Darwin, the progressive principle of natural selection. All physical development is due to a variation in any species proving its utility in flight, attack, or the getting of food. Every variation failing to prove its utility is eradicated and lost. “Owing to the struggle, variations,” says Darwin, “however slight, and from whatever cause proceeding, if they be in any degree profitable to the individuals of a species in their infinitely complex relations to other organic beings and to their physical conditions of life, will tend to the preservation of such individuals, and will generally be inherited by the offspring.” Thus we see that one species is superior to another by the greater number of uses secured to it in the course of its evolution. It therefore follows that the principle of use is the basis of every form of life throughout all nature. There is nothing in nature which has not a form, and there is no form that has not a use, for use is, as it were, the soul of the form. The human form, which is the highest of all forms and the most complex, is an epitome of the universe, a summary of all the lower forms of life, and in it neither organ, muscle, nerve, nor cell exists but for the performance of use or service. This same principle of service is stated by Christ to be the highest moral principle, for He says that “He who would be the greatest in the kingdom of heaven must be the servant of all.” It is also the active principle of love, for, as Shylock says, “Hates any man the thing he would not kill,” so we may say, “Loves any man the thing he would not serve.”

Socialism.

It is a curious and noteworthy fact that though use is a universal principle pervading all nature, yet in those spheres which man controls, another and an alien principle rules. The whole of our industrial system is founded on a principle existing nowhere else in nature, the principle of production and distribution for profit. If we examine our industrial system, we find that nothing is produced but for profit, nothing is sold but for profit, no man is employed but for profit, the vast majority of men being nothing but profit-making machines from birth to death. If no employer can make a profit out of the worker's labour, he is cast into the unemployed army. The result of building our social system on an unnatural principle is disastrous, for the outcome is that while a few men become enormously wealthy, the many millions of men, women and children, are plunged into the extremest poverty, living bare, unbeautiful lives, sacrifices to the lust of wealth of the possessing few.

If, however, we examine the present system of industry, we find that the “power outside ourselves” is introducing into this industrial chaos and seething inferno of self-seeking individualism, a principle which will soon bring it into line with universal nature,

This new principle, which is permeating industry, is the aforesaid principle of use or service. The progress already made is so great that we can already see it at work and consciously and actively co-operate in its further extension in industry.

This change in industry from the principle of production for profit to production for use is Socialism.

Socialism is no new development, for except the name, it is as old as the hills. It is but the name applied to the final conscious stage of our evolution, when we co-operate in bringing society into more perfect accord with that principle already shown to permeate all nature. There is nothing new in Socialism, but the recognition of this continuous growth and the active co-operation of mankind with the evolutionary force outside ourselves. Yet Socialism is being fought as a new thing, and Socialists denounced as the enemies of God and man, though they are but the exponents of this social evolution, pointing out how, without conscious action on their part, this new state has grown up in our midst. Anyone studying the natural evolution of society towards this principle of use, must realize in the words of Herbert Spencer "That amid the mysteries which become the more mysterious the more they are thought about, there will remain the one absolute certainty that he is in the presence of an infinite and eternal energy from which all things proceed." The attempt to resist this infinite and eternal energy which gradually created the earths in the universe, developed the human form from the dust of the earth, and has gone already far in the reorganisation of society, is as futile as to bemoan our birth and resist our death.

Body as a Type of Society.

In making the demand that society shall be organised on this universal, all-pervading principle of use, Socialists do not imagine or picture to themselves a vain thing, of which no man can see the ultimate issue, for there is in the body a type of a true society, and in Genesis this body of man is pronounced by God to be "in His own image and likeness." Now the human body is composed of cells in the same manner that society is composed of individuals, but a collection of individuals no more constitutes a true society than a collection of cells constitutes the human body. It is their organisation, differentiation and co-operation in the body, as organs, muscles, nerves, tissues, etc., that constitute the real organism. It must also be the organisation, differentiation and co-operation of individuals in society that will produce a true society. The analogy between the body corporate and the body politic is one that has long been recognised, and the structure of society, that is growing up around us, is rapidly approaching this bodily form. "That there is a real analogy," says Herbert Spencer, "between an individual organism and a social organism, becomes undeniable when certain necessities determining structure are seen to govern

them in common." Mr. Kidd asserts, in his *Social Evolution*, "That all departments of knowledge which deal with social phenomena have their true foundation in the biological sciences." If, then, we take the body as a type of society, we take the highest form that nature has evolved or that God has created.

Law of Service.

In accepting the principles of the human body as the principles of a true society, we accept the principles of Socialism. The principles of the various organs of the body in regard to service are :—

First—That it is the right and duty of each unit to serve.

Second—That such service shall not be to self nor to another, but to the whole community, which entails the surrender of the whole product to the common good.

Third—That, in return for this service to the common good, there is a right to draw sustenance from the common good, and to share in every benefit that the community can bestow.

If we examine these principles of service and their relation to our social system, we shall find that they are growing up in the industrial world around us. They have come like a thief in the night, without observation, and have already become an integral part of our industrial system. It is also worthy of note that unlike the opponents of Socialism, who insist upon the regeneration of poor human nature before we can advance to any higher social state, the force that has so far taken charge of society in its evolution, absolutely ignores this clerical view of human nature, and proceeds upon its work of reorganisation as though it anticipated that human nature, irrespective of its regeneration, would respond to the new environment. Such indeed has been the fact in the progress that has so far been made, and there is no reason to suspect that either the moulding power of evolution will loose its force and become inoperative or that human nature will cease to be responsive.

Right to Serve.

In the economy of the human organism, the first point that differentiates it from modern society is the right and duty of each organ down to the single cell to serve. There exists an absolute equality in this right and duty between the more complex and the most simple organs. No single cell is denied this elementary right, nor is it conceivable that in any society where the operative principle is service, such right should be denied, nor does any organ, however important, shirk the duty allotted to it and become parasitic. Yet in society to-day, founded on the opposite principle of profit making, no man has a right in it unless he can force a place for himself, or failing this, is able to sell his labour to some other who can make a profit out of it.

Consequently we have, and have had for generations, an unemployed army, the members of which are denied a place in our social economy, denied this elementary right to serve. An unemployed army of cells in the body is an impossible condition except in case of disease and death. As surely as it constitutes disease in the human organism, so it denotes disease in the social organism, disease that will, unless remedied, as certainly cause the failure of our civilization as similar conditions destroyed the civilizations of old. It is little wonder that political leaders like Mr. Balfour, Mr. John Morley, and Lord Rosebery, without a guiding principle to help them out of the labyrinth of unemployment, helplessly wring their hands and hopelessly admit that they see no remedy. In a society that denies the right and duty of service, there is no remedy, there is merely palliation. If service were the recognised principle of membership, then with the present excessive powers of production by each worker beyond his own requirements, it would follow that the more numerous the society, the less service would each be called upon to render, or on the other hand, the greater would be the wealth produced. Hence the fierce opposition to the scheme for the emigration of the unemployed that has been offered by the Socialists, who demand the higher organisation of society as an alternative, and as the one and only true and possible remedy. The solution of the unemployed problem at both ends of the social scale will incorporate the principle of the right and duty to serve, and that solution cannot be much longer delayed.

Mode of Service.

If we examine the mode in which service is rendered in the human organism, we find that no organ serves itself directly nor does it render service to any other organ. The whole of its service is performed to the whole community of organs in the body. We find that the system is such that only thro' this service to the whole can an organ serve itself, and the welfare of each thus depends upon the welfare of all. As Herbert Spencer states, "The organisation in an individual creature is made possible only by dependence of each part on all and of all on each." The body thus forms a perfect commonwealth, co-operative in every detail, and the principle of individualism, "of each for himself," is conspicuously absent. We therefore find in the human organism no justification for the present industrial system whereby man is placed at the mercy of man, for the stronger to exploit; where one small class owns and controls the means by which the mass of the community has to live; there exists no hint of such relationship as that of master and man, of employer and employee. There would seem from a superficial view of our industrial system to be but scant hope of such an entirely different and superior form of service being introduced into the present industrial system, where the highest interest of the community is supposed to be served by each one

serving himself. If, however, we glance below the surface and examine the conditions of industrial service to day from the biological standpoint, we must admit the profound change in the methods of service during the last century and the marvellous progress that has been made towards the principle that no man shall serve himself. Whilst all classes have been absorbed in the grossest materialism, with but one ideal—the creation of wealth, the labour base of society has been undergoing rapid change, and the working classes, owning neither land nor tools, have long ceased to work for themselves, and have been absolutely divorced from the produce of their hands. What they produce is no longer theirs, they manufacture goods for others to use, they weave cloth for others to wear, they build houses for others to live in, they grow food for others to consume, in a word they surrender the whole produce of their toil in exactly the same manner that the organs of the body surrender their product. This wonderful change in the methods of industry and the growth of the true biological form of service is almost entirely the work of the industrial revolution of the last century. The early years of last century found each man working for himself at many trades in his own home, cultivating his own little plot of land and generally leading a life of comparative isolation, each complete in itself. The invention of the steam engine and other labour-saving appliances put an irresistible power into the hands of capitalism, and enabled the manufacturers to undersell the productions of the little village industries. It forced the people from their village homes, and shut them up in the huge mills, factories, and workshops in the manufacturing districts, stripped of home and property. With the land closed against them by the landlord, and machinery and tools by their cost, they have been left with nothing but their labour power to sell. They have been compelled to work for others and with others, and in return for bare subsistence wages to surrender the whole product of their toil. All labour became of necessity co-operative, and along with this growth of co-operation there has proceeded the differentiation and integration of industrial processes, which have increased the powers of production so enormously that the poverty suffered by millions of our fellow country men has not only no justification in fact, but is absolutely criminal in its uselessness and degradation.

In this manner has been completed the most momentous revolution recorded in history, a bloodless revolution forced on an unwilling people by callous greed and a brutal disregard of consequences on one side, and poverty, suffering and unspeakable degradation on the other; a revolution beginning a century ago with a landed oligarchy governing and controlling the imperial and social policy of the nation, but ending with all power transferred to the dispossessed masses; a revolution predestined, above all else, after a preparation of many centuries to embody in society the primary biological principle of service, and to free man for ever from the evil domination of man.

Joint Stock Companies

Whilst the industrial revolution of last century forced the working classes into the true form of service, its action on the employing classes themselves has hardly been less drastic. Whilst they have been working might and main for themselves on lines of the most arrant individualism, the motive power of the universe has utilized their energies and directed their services to organise their businesses on the opposite principle, that of service to others. It is, as a fine simile has it, as though a ship were sailing due West, towards the land of Individualism, whilst an unfelt current was taking it all the time due East, towards the land of Socialism. Beginning last century as small undertakings, but rapidly growing larger, industrial concerns soon passed beyond the power of a single capitalist to manage, and they were turned into limited liability concerns. As competition became fiercer between these rival concerns, self-preservation compelled amalgamation. They grew into syndicates, trusts, and corporations, employing millions of capital and monopoly grew apace. As an example of the abolition of competition we may mention that the 815 railway companies of 1845 have been amalgamated till now there are but 51 left, a number still decreasing.

In this manner the private employer of labour is vanishing before the joint stock company and his place taken by Boards of Directors. These directors are obliged to produce dividends in which other shareholders of the company also participate. Their good as directors in this way depends upon the good of the whole and their mode of service is a definite approach towards the biological form. In fact they occupy the identical relation to their shareholders that a Committee of the Corporation occupies to the citizens of the town. Transfer the shares to the municipality and call the directors of the company a Corporation Committee and the true form of biological service is at once established. The loss of the personal bond between master and men is often bemoaned by people as a misfortune, but though the present system is one that has neither the advantages of the old feudal system nor those of the next stage, yet it is a transition period that is rapidly passing and merging into the true form of society.

Industrial Property.

Another striking result of the growth of joint stock companies has been the abolition of private property in industry among the possessing classes, except always such private property as exists in our homes in the shape of furniture, etc. If we take the income tax returns we find that whilst private firms return incomes assessed at 193½ millions, joint stock companies are assessed at 239½ millions. Among the private firms are included all the professional classes, such as lawyers, barristers, doctors,

accountants, and shopkeepers and other similar businesses, but among the joint stock companies will be found comparatively few which are not industrial. The preponderance therefore of industrial firms already joint stock over private industrial concerns is far in excess of what is indicated by the above figures. In all these public companies the property held by them belongs to no person. In a railway company, for example, not a single shareholder, however great his holding, can place his hand upon a solitary inch of the line, or a carriage or any of the company's property and say "this is mine." He stands in the identic relationship to the company's property that a citizen stands to municipal property. There has thus already been achieved the penultimate step towards the organisation of industrial property on the biological form, it is already half communized. Let the conversion of private into joint stock undertakings continue (and they are extending fast, at the rate of about £150 millions a year), until they swallow up the whole of the industries of the country, and we shall then see that, except in the form of some intrinsically worthless paper, called scrip, private ownership of industrial property, *i.e.*, machinery, workshops, mills, etc., will be completely abolished. Here on another and unlooked for plane an immense stride is being made by that force outside ourselves, but using us as its instruments, in bringing our social system into line with nature on the true principles of biology. It is no blind erratic force, but as Haeckel stated, it develops the same principles on every plane it touches, and we thus find analogous conditions arising in every direction in the social organism, all pointing towards the same goal, the organisation of the social organism on the principles of the human organism.

Law of Subsistence.

How is it then, that, with our industrial system almost perfectly organised and giving us the most wonderful machine for the production of wealth ever seen in the world, there is so much misery and suffering and such scarcity of the bare necessities of life for so many. It arises from the divergence in one essential particular from the true form of service as seen in the body.

We find that though the true principles for wealth production exist in society, there has been but small progress made towards the true principles for the distribution of that wealth. This is the real industrial problem that confronts the twentieth century, a problem however which is even now in process of being solved. The present position is that whilst the wealth is produced by the workers co-operatively and surrendered by them, it is not surrendered to the common good, but is intercepted legally, but not morally, by the few, by means of rent, interest and profit. No part of the communal product reaches the common fund except such part as is taken in the form of rates and taxes, an amount however which reaches about 11 per cent. of the gross income of the nation.

In the human organism, the capital is co-operatively produced and in the form of blood is carried to all organs and parts of the body and, in return for service, each organ, muscle, nerve, etc., down to the single cell takes such nourishment as it needs to enable it to continue its service. In society the capital is also co-operatively produced, but the actual workers, who number about sixteen millions, receive about one third only of the wealth they produce, and the others, about one million persons, in various forms of rent, interest, and profit, secure all the remainder. The result is that these few become wealthy beyond the necessities of their existence, and sacrifice to their own private and selfish service millions of lives, withdrawing them from useful work for the community to useless pandering to an almost useless class.

Still, even here, in the most chaotic part of the industrial system we find the gradual growth of law and order. We see the true principle of wealth distribution arising in our midst by means of municipalisation and nationalisation.

Municipalisation and Rationalisation

If we examine the various functions of the body in the earliest forms of life, we see that they were irregular movements, as though made at the will of the species. As evolution continued and the species became more highly organised, these functions ceased to be irregular and spasmodic, and like the beating of the heart, the digestive processes, the lungs, and many others, have become automatic. So in society we find that certain services, which at one time were irregular spasmodic services, have passed from the primitive form into the automatic stage, such for instance as the administration of justice, the army and navy, the post and telegraph services. When first the administration of justice began, each individual had to be his own judge, jury, and executioner. This was found to be so utterly subversive of order, that the administration of justice was eventually taken over by the State, and has now become automatic in form. The army, in its first stages, was sporadic; each baron had his own army of retainers and was continually at war with his neighbours, creating such disorder in the State that the baronial armies were abolished and the army became national or automatic. The navy also was a purely voluntary service, and the fleet that met the Armada, with the exception of a few vessels, was owned and fought by private individuals such as Drake, Frobisher, Hawkins, and others. This has now assumed the automatic form and been nationalised. The same voluntary beginnings are seen in the post and telegraph services. It is, however, when we come nearer to the lives of the people that we find the automatic forms of service have become most numerous, for amongst others we find that there are 1,050 water works owned by Municipalities, 334 electrical installations, 260 gas works, 162 tram services, and a multitude of other services, such as docks,

markets, theatres, etc. There is also the further demand by the Labour Party, a force that cannot now be neglected, that all the irregular chaotic services which now exist for the supply of the material necessities of life, shall be removed from this wasteful form and taken over as public automatic services by the community, such as the housing of the people, the bread, milk, coal, supplies, etc. In trade and commerce there is an equally strong demand for the nationalisation of the telephones (which will be nationalised in 1911), the railways, canals, mining rents, royalties, way-leaves, etc., all of which the growth of international competition will shortly force into the hands of the State. The keenness of international competition will force the State to relieve trade and industry from the burden of parasitic landlordism, and in so doing another long step will be taken towards the right distribution of wealth.

True Form of Service.

The effects of municipalisation are two-fold, first in that it removes the workers from the employment of firms, whether private or joint stock, into the biological form of service for the whole community, from which in return for service they receive their subsistence in the form of wages; there are already of instance 18,000 directly employed by the Manchester Corporation. Secondly, it diverts the stream of wealth, which has hitherto been intercepted by the possessing classes as profits and dividends, from their pockets to the coffers of the community, for the benefit of the common good. It is this diversion of the wealth from the few to the community, and the decrease in their power to exploit the community, as one public service after another is taken over, that is causing such great opposition to municipal trading as it is named. The possessing classes have been ready enough to accept all the advantages of the biological system in production, but when this infinite energy proceeds on its silent and irresistible course to organise distribution on the same principles, giving at the same time ever more and more power to those who produce, and ever less to those who possess, drawing ever closer and tighter its encircling coils and lessening more and more the power to exploit the community, then this new system becomes at once the worst possible tyranny, and the landlord and the profit monger and the financier denounce Socialism as the blackest atheism, which, in the interests of true religion, must be resisted even to the shedding of blood.

When undertakings become municipalised, such, for instance, as the tramway service, we find the actuating motive of the system is at once transformed. Previously the sole motive governing it was the production of dividends, whereas the governing principle of the municipal undertaking becomes that of use, which at once brings the service into harmony with the universal principle of nature. Trams are now run on roads where needed, whether they pay or not; they are run at the

lowest possible fares ; the condition of the employees is materially improved, their hours of labour are fewer and their wages are higher, they are clad in a municipal uniform and become a more self respecting body of men. There is arising also a municipal conscience, which enforces a minimum standard of living, for the sweated conditions possible in private voluntary services would not be tolerated for a moment by the public of any city.

The change in principle involved in the transfer from the self-seeking, profit making private trader or company to the community is a change equivalent in an individual to that which would be termed "conversion" or "regeneration," it is a casting out of self seeking and the substitution of altruism in the truest and best meaning of the word. This conversion from an ignoble to a lofty principle is the purest Socialism, yet it finds little or no response or aid from the churches and chapels where one might legitimately expect it. The regeneration of society as an organism is left to the Socialist, who insists that there is communal salvation as well as individual conversion.

Communism.

It is a strange and noteworthy fact that whilst this communal distribution is the last stage in the growth of industry to-day, yet there have been efforts in all ages to have communal distribution as in the times of Christ among the early Christians, when they had all things in common and among the Anabaptists, the Taborites, and the Bohemian Brethren. These communistic societies were ever denounced and persecuted and finally destroyed by the State or the churches as "heretical and devilish." These strivings after a true society however have, as it were, been efforts in the air, they had not at the same time a communal production, and consequently "not being rooted at the base of existence" passed away. Karl Kautsky points out that "whenever we find communal production among the communistic sects of the Middle Ages, it is the effect, not the cause of house keeping in common." The present system of free services is one that is growing slowly but surely from communal production upwards ; it is founded on co-operation in production, the true basis of all life, and must logically find its counterpart and result in co-operative distribution. This form of communal distribution we see growing up around us in free libraries, baths, parks, ferries, picture galleries, &c. With the advent of women into public life, we may rely upon the still more rapid growth of the free services of communism.

Conclusion.

The change in the structure of society that has already been effected, and which every year gains impetus, will cause a moral revolution that will be far reaching in its effects. The present system of wealth distribution is one, wherein every man is com-

pelled to struggle for his own hand, and at whatever cost to his neighbour, to provide for his own material wants and safety. It is individualistic, and the negation of the command of Christ, which in a Christian country should be imperative, to love our neighbour as ourself. Now an organisation which compels obedience to anti-Christian and anti-social commands is not one in which Christianity and its moral sentiments of love can find expression in life. The individualistic conditions of the last century have forced even the most earnest Christians to live a life contrary to the unworldly teachings of Christ in the Sermon on the Mount, and unconsciously to reject entirely the essence of His social teachings. Our industrial necessities have made it easy to do social wrong, difficult to do social right. Yet so powerful have been these conditions in moulding us that all have responded to them and blindly accepted them as Christian.

The great men of all ages are those most responsive to the spirit of the times, men whose life's work has been that demanded by the needs of the age. Thus, when strife was purely physical, "there were the giants of those days," as Mr. Bliss says, "the Nimrods, the Goliaths, the Agamemnons, kings of men. Organised society gradually restrained that physical strife, and competition became military between those states. It produced an Alexander, an Hannibal, a Cæsar." Then in the Middle Ages, when we had the one and undivided Church, we had the great Churchmen ruling all Europe, that age which produced the beautiful cathedrals throughout Europe. Later as the commercial wars began, there were developed the generals of the type of Marlborough, Wellington, Napoleon. To-day the great men are still those responsive to the needs of the times, the financiers and millionaires, the Vanderbilts, Morgans, Goulds, Beits, Rothschilds, and others, the destroyers of competition and the organisers of industry into trusts, syndicates and industrial corporations, the pioneers of the new civilization, not knowing what they do.

Now the environment which has in the past been powerful enough to produce men responsive to the spirit of the age will, under other and happier conditions, produce men equally responsive to its loftier and nobler spirit. Future society, when the common good is the source of all good, will be one wherein all men will work together as a brotherhood, and wherein no man can serve himself but through service to all. Such a society will embody the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount, which, on another plane, are but the teachings of the body. People born into this environment will find it as natural as fish find the water or a bird the air. The great men of the good days coming will be those whose powers and ambitions lead them to seek honour and position in serving the Common Good, whether their motive be the service of the community or the greater glory of themselves. This will be the path of duty and the only way to honour.

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DARWINISM

AND

SOCIALISM

BY LAURENCE SMALL, B.Sc., (Lond.)

PRICE ONE PENNY.



PUBLISHED BY THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY,
23, BRIDE LANE, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.

Darwinism and Socialism.

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THE evolution of the higher organisms from the lower is now undoubted. It is a fact, but like all other natural phenomena it requires explanation.

The word "evolution" is frequently used as if the process were self explanatory. We frequently delude ourselves with words, using them as if they conveyed precise knowledge, and as if they expressed ultimate fundamental laws beyond or below which it is impossible to get.

"Gravitation," for example, does not explain why a stone falls to the ground. It is merely the Latin word for heaviness. Why is a body heavy? Why, when released from the hand, does a body fall plumb down instead of rising up, or shooting sideways? We are told that the earth "attracts" it, but "attracts" has really no meaning; it is an evasion of the difficulty. To move a stone you must pull it, or push it, or throw something at it. When the stone moves towards the Earth, what gives the pull, or the push, or what is the projectile and who is the projector? When this has been answered we shall know what we mean when we say that a stone falls to the earth because of gravity. Newton enunciated the Law of Gravitation, but did not discover its cause. That remains to be determined, and scientific men have a shrewd idea where to search.

The word "evolution" tends to be similarly misused. It is not a cause. It means an unfolding from the less to the more perfect, from the simple to the complex. The word is sometimes used as if evolution were a process inherent in nature always working for betterment, particularly in human affairs; and assuring us that we may have no fears for the morrow, that—

"There's a good time coming boys,
Wait a little longer!"

and that while humanity suffers in the present we may *look* forward to a happier future without our taking any pains to bring it about.

This view is a wrong one. Evolution is not in a true sense a law of nature. Its cause or causes lie behind. It may be positive or negative or zero; "advancing, retrograde, or standing still." We are are no more *bound* to go forward than backward individually or socially*; and there is no greater certainty than this, that, if we are to achieve our ideal, or make a single step towards it, we must trust to no evolution, to no

"God's in his heaven
All's right with the world"

idea; but definitely and consciously we must *work*, each in the way he best can towards the desired goal.

Without this definite and conscious endeavour, and in spite of all the mutual aid we can render our comrades in the smaller social services, we shall drift into a condition such as that in which the Sleeper in Mr. Wells's story found himself when he awoke from his trance two hundred years hence.

The aggregation of wealth, with all the power it gives, into the hands of a few had continued, until one man was master of half the world. The cleavage between the workers and the non-workers was complete. The country had become depopulated. The whole of the people had gathered into a very few towns. The shareholders in the great trust spent their time in pleasure cities, while the workers toiling underground never left the scene of their labour. There was no starvation, no lack of warmth or shelter, but the workers had lost all that makes life worth living. The world had become an immense "Jungle." The impression conveyed by the story is that of an awful nightmare. If a definite purpose may be attributed to Mr. Wells, he gives us warning in this book of what evolution and *laissez faire* may do for us.

It is close on half a century since Darwin gave his theory to the world. It made a revolution in our outlook on nature, this law of—"The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the struggle for life." All life was one life: from the simplest in structure and most lowly to man, the paragon of animals, the chain of life was complete. The law underlying the evolution of all organic life including humanity is the law of Natural Selection. For a full account of the meaning of Natural Selection I must refer my readers to Darwin's *Origin of Species*, and *Descent of Man*, and to Wallace's *Darwinism*.

It may be briefly summed up as follows:—

1. The tendency for all animals and plants is to increase in numbers at a very great rate, while the food supply is constant in amount.
2. The population of a particular species is on the whole

*Read *When the Sleeper wakes*, by H. G. Wells.

stationary in a given district, so that only so many individuals survive as there were to start with.

3. But the young begin to live, and hence there is a struggle for life, which is most severe between individuals of *the same species*, against the causes which tend to their destruction.

4. Now a natural discrimination comes into play. Although each young organism resembles its parent, the resemblance is not perfect. There are variations from exact likeness, and it is on these variations that survival depends. Those individuals which show the slightest increase of power or of ability over their relatives to secure food, light and air and warmth; to escape from their enemies by keenness of scent, fleetness of foot, assimilation of their form and colour to their surroundings, are *selected*, as it is called, by nature, for survival. The less adapted to the *circumstances into which they are born* die; the more fit live and transmit their peculiar characteristics, which gave them advantage among their own kind, to their offspring; and again the choice of nature is made, and always the survivors are the individuals most in harmony with their environment.

The process goes on as calmly and as regularly as the whirl of a planet around its sun under the law of gravitation, and with as little concern for the happiness of man or animal. In the crushing out of the unfit there is no sign of pity or of remorse. Nature is indifferent. Natural selection has made us what we are, with all our excellences and all our defects.

The harshness of its action, its apparently mechanical rigidity, has made great men see in the Darwinian law an apotheosis of individualism; a proof of the impossibility of Socialism.

It is a commonplace argument frequently urged against us that Socialism is incompatible with human nature as it is; and that we must wait for the whirl of the universe to develop a human type that will fit into and make possible a Socialist State.

It is my hope to show that while the Darwinian critics of Socialism may be right in their facts, they are wholly and fundamentally wrong in their inferences, and that there are human characteristics which prove conclusively that the nature of man is such that it is ready for the change from the Individualistic to the Socialistic state here and now; and that we need not wait for the development of the ideal man.

Besides, I do not like the operation of this law of natural selection. Progress is uncertain and, at best, slow: it is accompanied by too much pain: it isn't worth the trouble. Just as I don't like the east winds that blast the germinating seeds and budding blossoms after being coaxed into growth by a preceding warm spell in early spring, nor a wet summer destroying a harvest, nor a potato blight, nor an earthquake.

We cannot prevent these things; unless we do so in the older meaning of the word—to come before. We can *forestall* their effects and make provision against the evil. If our Socialism were to mini-

mise the operations of natural selection, no great harm would be done, it would, indeed, be wholly good. Humanity is on a sufficiently high plane for *all* men to be able to enjoy the fruits of the past labour of the race, material and spiritual, to a far wider extent and with a deeper intensity than is now possible save to the favoured few.

Oscar Schmidt, and a greater, Ernst Haeckel, two eminent German exponents and propagandists of Darwin's discovery, assert that Darwinism is completely opposed to Socialism.

Darwinism, says Schmidt, is the scientific proof of inequality; all individuals are not equally capable of the same development. This is true enough; but it is merely the every-day objection of the man in the street who believes that Socialism means the establishment of the absolute equality in mind and body of all human organisms, thereby regarding all Socialists, their preachers and teachers as fools.

If Socialism stands for one thing more than another it stands for *individuality*. We seek no reduction to a uniform level of physical measurement, of height, chest capacity, or muscular vigour; we do not expect that all our intellectual powers shall be of the same order in kind or in degree; that our education shall be along the same lines; that our various opinions and beliefs must be forced into concurrence.

That is and has been the outcome of *individualism*. To all appearance, it has been the aim, as expressed by our codes of education for elementary schools, to instruct all pupils in exactly the same subjects and to the same extent; to drill them into one style of writing, of reading, and of doing a few sums, entirely irrespective of the aptitudes of the individual children themselves. Instead of education we had instruction; training gave place to dogmatics.

Children under our individualistic system have been treated as if they had no individuality whatever. It was implied in our educational scheme that what one child can do all children can do. The child-mind was regarded as a blank sheet of paper on which might be inscribed whatever one pleased.

Your individualistic state sets about declaring what all children should be, and sets about making them so—to its discomfiture.

Elementary education has been a failure until now, perhaps, when examinations for grants have been abolished and freedom of choice in subject and method has been allowed the teacher.

But even now classes of pupils numbering 60 to 80 are taught *en masse*; a class of 50 is regarded as a small one.

What possible individuality can be encouraged and developed in any child by even the most capable and sympathetic teacher?

In our science and technical evening schools we have courses of instruction on the same lines. Ill prepared in the day schools, the pupils are unable to derive the full benefit of their opportunities. They have not learned to be students. Their day school teachers have supplied both mind and text book with the result that when a book of study is put into the hands of the average evening student he does not know how to use it.

The evening pupils are handicapped, [too, in coming to their study tired in mind and body after a full day's work.

These facts are slowly being recognised by educational authorities and there are signs of improvement.

All this, however, is not the gravest thing that can be said about the matter. The painful fact is that the aim of education has been forgotten, and that the whole purpose of our schools appears to be the creation of more efficient tools for the workshop and the office. There is the hope in the pupil that his technical knowledge will be of advantage in competition for employment or for promotion, and that his wages will be greater.

The latter hope is certain to disappointment; and if it were realised might not be worth the strain—for under these conditions learning is a strain, it ceases to give pleasure, is not self development, but is instead a fevered striving for individual material benefit at the expense of individuality.

So in our workshops. How mechanical, monotonous and wearing the routine becomes when one has to attend to the same small duty throughout the whole working day. Unremitting attention to a machine—the real worker—has reduced the mill hand to a mere adjunct of machinery. There can be no sort of pretence that for the masses of the people modern factory life, or clerical work, makes for a strengthening and development of individuality in the worker.

Dogmatism in religion and social custom also discourage individuality in thought and conduct. From our beliefs to our wearing apparel we are slaves to rule.

Monotony in education, in work, in religion, in life, is the outcome of individualism, and will disappear only with the achievement of Socialism and the consequent development of individuality.

We require that every several man shall have what is now denied him,—a full and free development of the body and mind he is born with, shall be alert and active in both, stunted neither physically nor mentally. We aspire to no dead level, which, were it possible, would efface all picturesqueness from life. We ask equality of opportunity for all, because we want each and every man and woman to be in the true sense an *individual*.

Hæckel pronounces, as a Darwinian, against Socialism with tremendous emphasis:—

*"Darwinism is anything but Socialistic. If a definite tendency be attributed to this English theory. . . . this tendency can only be aristocratic, certainly not democratic, and least of all Socialistic."

" 'Many are called, but few are chosen !' This selection, this picking out of the chosen is necessarily combined with the languishing and perishing of the remaining majority. Another English investigator even denotes the kernel of Darwinism as 'the survival of the fittest,' the 'triumph of the best ?' Obviously the principle of selection is anything but democratic, it is aristocratic in the best sense of the word."

*Quoted in "Grammar of Science" by K. Pearson, 1892.

Surely a fallacy easy of detection lurks here. Aristocracy is, etymologically, government by the best. Natural selection secures the 'triumph of the best.' Are the two *bests* the same in meaning. Under the law of Natural selection the survivors are called the *best* because they do survive owing to some advantage possessed over the majority. They are best fitted to their environment; but their excellence may be neither physical, nor moral. It may be due to deceit, as in mimicry, when an organism—plant or animal assimilates its form or colour to that of its surroundings or of other organisms.

Among fish, for example, we have the plaice, a flat fish, which has learned to mimic the sea bottom on which it lies. Its under side is white, but the upper side is of a sandy colour, which cannot be distinguished from the sand and gravel among which it lies.

In Brazil a certain non-poisonous species of butterfly mimics the form and colour of a bitter tasting poisonous species, so that birds mistaking the former for the latter kind leave them severely alone though they are really toothsome morsels.

Butterflies, moths and caterpillars take the shape and colour of the leaves or twigs of the tree or shrub they frequent; the tawny lion has the colour of the desert, the tiger the striped shadows of the jungle grasses.

The eggs of birds laid among the shingle of our coasts cannot be distinguished readily from the stones among which they lie.

There is in these cases a deception which has nothing to do with morals; but in human society the common practice of the criminal is to assume a virtue he lacks, and to clothe himself in the mien and garb of honesty and fair dealing, as when a Pecksniff or a Chadband assumes the external characters of a really good man. Even among mankind do we find the best, in the true sense, surviving?

Is it true that the wicked alone are unsuccessful, that poverty-land is filled only by those who are morally depraved, and that our rulers, our lords spiritual and temporal, our commons, our municipal councillors, our "smart" society, our professional and well-to-do middle classes only are righteous? The question needs only to be stated; it carries its own refutation.

Setting aside law made crime, I *know* that justice, right, truth, honour and honesty are as much a part of the poor—the despised and rejected—as of any of the classes above named; and I believe more. I have a belief that it is, to a great extent, *because* they are not self seekers, but because they have more care and sympathy for others than is consistent with an individualistic age, that they have not been successful in life. Altruism is a handicap and self seeking an advantage in the individual struggle.

Under our present unorganised "civilisation," with its rent and interest and dividends, with its land, capital and labour shibboleth, the "have-nots" must necessarily be many and the "haves" few. Vast riches and poverty go hand in hand; the one means the other. In an age of the glorification of the self-made man, when he and his

methods are held up by preachers and teachers for our copy, when self-advancement even at the expense of others is made a cardinal virtue, it is the man who by his nature cannot learn the art who descends in the social scale.

Where many *must* fail, it is the egoist who rises—at least relatively—and the altruist who descends. A high development of the finer social instincts handicaps one in the struggle and makes for poverty. The slumdweller is as essentially (congenitally) moral as the successful. They are the beaten in the struggle, for one reason, because of the weakness of their self-regarding instincts.*

It is always lawful to learn from the enemy, and we shall allow Ernst Hæckel to instruct us further.

Modern science, he says, in his famous "Riddle," "shows that the feeling of duty rests not on an illusory 'categorical imperative' but on the solid ground of *social instinct*, as we find in the case of all social animals. It regards as the highest aim of all morality the re-establishment of a sound harmony between egoism and altruism, between self love and the love of ones neighbour."

And again with more point:—

"Man belongs to the social vertebrates, and has therefore, like all social animals two sets of duties—firstly to himself, and secondly to the society to which he belongs. The former are the behests of self love or egoism, the latter of love for one's fellows, or altruism. The two sets of precepts are equally just, equally natural, and equally indispensable. If a man desire to have the advantage of living in an organised community, he has to consult not only his own fortune, but also that of the society, and of the 'neighbours' who form that society. *He must realise that its prosperity is his own prosperity, and that it cannot suffer without his own injury.*"†

And here is the second of "three important theses":—

"*The social duties* which are imposed by the social structure of associated individuals and by means of which it secures its preservation, are merely higher evolutionary stages of the social instincts, *which we find in all higher animals* (as 'habits which have become hereditary')."

Surely Saul also is among the prophets. The order of "duties" in the second quotation is inverted by Hæckel, both in respect of their importance and, as I believe, their development. The social duties and the faculty of social oughtness or conscience was (at least very probably) "evolved" before individual conscience and is a more strongly marked specific character of humanity than the latter. This may be the explanation of the deference individuals pay to custom or fashion in social affairs. They prefer in the words of a modern statesman, who as a youth was guilty so, to be wicked rather than singular. However irrational a social observance may be, the units follow it rather than incur the charge of singularity or eccentricity.

Darwin's own position is given in his "Descent of Man," chapter

*Read Chap. VII. of Kropotkin's book.

†Italics his.

‡Italics mine.

iv. In this chapter he discusses the nature and origin of the social instincts, including the moral sense, and argues that any animal whatever, endowed with well marked social instincts, would, in the course of its evolution, acquire a moral sense or conscience which would intensify step by step with growth of intelligence.

He finds the origin of the social instinct in natural selection, its germ being parental and filial affection. Communities of animals in which sympathy existed would have a greater chance of surviving against adverse circumstances than groups lacking this social binding force. "Those communities," he declares, "which include the greatest number of most sympathetic members would flourish best and rear the greatest number of offspring."

And so he proceeds to consider man as a social animal. Man has inherited social instincts from his distant past. They have been preserved and strengthened in the course of the struggle, not of individual against individual, but of group against group, so that the group or tribal conscience was earliest developed.

What hurt the community hurt the individual. The community must be preserved against eternal foes if the individual is to live and the tribe to continue to exist. Fidelity to comrades is thus developed by natural selection ; for the tribe in which the spirit of comradeship, the sympathy of the individual with his fellows, is strongest, will survive against other tribes ; and the action of the same law will strengthen this instinct in successive generations. For the struggle for existence of the communities does not cease. It has to contend against the inhospitality of nature, against disease, storm, drought, flood, cold ; against the wild beast of the forest ; against other communities ; and always the tribe having the greatest number of individuals in whom the tribal conscience is most highly developed, will have the best chance, other things being equal, of survival.

The praise of his fellows, his horror of their scorn, would influence the individual to unselfish action, and in this way lead to the development of the individual conscience.

In its beginning the tribal conscience was an instinct. An act of unfidelity to his group would in the earliest manifestation produce a feeling of uneasiness, of dissatisfaction, of something being wrong, a pain ; an act of fidelity the opposite emotion. It would not be a feeling to which expression could be given in words. The one course produces content, the other discontent. Added to this we should have the objective force of the approbation or disapprobation of the tribe. A sacrifice of the individual to the interests of the tribe receives the approbation of the tribal units ; a self regarding action tending to injure the tribe, their condemnation.

It closely follows on, and from, this that the self approbation, which an individual experiences when he injures himself for the sake of his fellows, becomes a conscious approbation :—he has done the right thing, or at least he has followed the right impulse, and the satisfaction he feels is a conscious one ; on the other hand he consciously

feels blameworthy, he condemns himself, and is ashamed of his own conduct when his action is self regarding, benefiting himself and injuring his tribe.

The feeling of Right and Wrong is an inherited instinct engendered during the development of man while he was yet a "lower" animal, and developed and fixed in human nature, by the struggle for existence. Hence it is that now social sympathy is an essential characteristic of man. "A man who possessed no trace of such instincts would be an unnatural monster." He would be a reversion to ancient type, and would be treated as one mentally deficient.

Thus the social instincts are of a more permanent and of a more deeply seated character than the self regarding, and that is what was meant when I said earlier, that humanity as it is, is ready here and now for the highest socialism we can conceive.

An act of vengeance may for the moment give satisfaction, but the desire for praise and the avoidance of blame from his fellows put him out of sympathy with them, and constitute a terrible retaliation. This and his own feeling of remorse are the brand of Cain, and in better society would be efficient and sufficient punishment.

"The virtues which must be practised, at least generally, by rude men, so that they may associate in a body, are those which are still recognised as the most important." There must be no robbery, no treachery, no slavery, no murder, within the limits of the tribe.

The higher moral rules "are founded on the social instincts, and relate to the welfare of others. They are supported by the approbation of our fellow men, and by reason. The lower rules, though some of them when implying self-sacrifice hardly deserve to be called lower, relate chiefly to self, and arise from public opinion, matured by experience and cultivation. . . ." In this quotation Darwin asserts that the higher morality, that which relates to the welfare of others, *is universal among mankind*.

Chapters III, IV, and V, of the Descent should be carefully studied by all interested in social welfare. They emphatically negative the position that Darwinism is anti-Socialistic.

The late Professor W. K. Clifford in "The Scientific Basis of Morals," and certain others of his essays, has emphasised this view of ethics in eloquent and powerful language.

Darwinism teaches no such doctrine as "each for himself and the devil take the hindmost"; but *does* prove the contrary one, that the Society which encourages the development of the self as against the common good will surely disintegrate; and will not secure that uniformity of human well-being which the social reformer—socialist or individualist—has at heart.

The main indictment—a tremendous one—against our present social state is the fact that the self-seeker is successful in the individual struggle; that his "getting on" has become the ideal we are to aim at; that we are to emulate the self-regarding policy by which he has achieved his success.

Such a life conduct is retrogressive from the Darwinian point of view ; and if society, under these circumstances, could hold together and the race exist sufficiently long, would produce the "monstrous individual" of the quotation from Darwin previously cited.

It would, however, be as difficult for the minds and consciences of all men to degenerate so far, as for their bodies and their brains to revert to those of their ape-like progenitors.

It is a biological fact of great importance that the characters which distinguish a species are firmly fixed and cannot easily be modified ; and that when by culture (as in flowers and vegetables), or by breeding (as in the case of horses, dogs and pigeons) new varieties are produced, the divergences from the type of the species are not permanent unless the artificial selection has been in operation through very many generations.

Left to themselves the cultivated variations tend to disappear and the fundamental specific characters to reassert themselves. The artificial variety tends to revert to its original or natural state.

The operation of this law applies with no less force to humanity, and not only to its physical but to its ethical characteristics also.

It is fortunate that the demoralising effect of the present individualistic civilisation has been in operation for but few generations. It has not yet had time to intensify or to fix the anti-social feelings. Living for others, helping others, have still some meaning.

Our social instinct, our fundamental and high morality, is a character of man as a species, and, for the purposes of this argument, may be considered permanent. Therefore, I regard the intense individualism of our times as a passing phase in the social evolution. As it is every thinker knows that the injustices which form the objects of the socialistic and anarchistic attacks, are perpetuated by the physical force that lies behind them, and that lacking this backing, they would disappear as mists before the rising sun.

We may, then, admit the immutability of the law of natural selection as of all other natural laws ; even rejoice at it. It has made us what we are, and on the whole it has made a good thing.

The law of gravitation cannot be altered ; water *will* run down hill, and the drainage of a country *will* find its way to the sea. But we can build dams, store the water, and direct its course ; we can span rivers and gorges by strong steel bridges ; we can, by our knowledge of the law of gravitation, so direct or control the force that it shall subserve the purpose of man, and not entirely be his master.

We have studied nature's laws and can apply our knowledge to our advantage.

Is the law of natural selection an exception to other natural laws ? Are we to sit still, as it were, and let it sweep us on whither it would, if I may so far personify it ?

While we cannot alter the human organism in any particular, even if we would, and were it desirable, we can modify much that is outside of it. The external conditions of our social life as a whole

and the internal conditions subsisting between individual and individual, group and group, class and class, which bind them together, are largely artificial ; and certainly what is artificial is modifiable. Evolution is a fitting in of the individual or of the group to its environment. If an organization already fitted to its environment, and therefore in equilibrium with it, changes, and the environment remains rigid, there is trouble. The organism is now *unfit* and must go. If the environment change, and the organism be rigid, incapable of adaptation to the new conditions, again it perishes. There must be continuous adaptation of the organism to the environment, or of the environment to the organism.

Our internal social environments, external to the individual units composing it, are such as favour (as has been pointed out) the survival of the anti-social and self-regarding type. Our remedy is in our own hands. We are different from the lower animals. We can contemplate the future ; we can learn from the past. We form ideals and make pictures for ourselves of a higher organisation of society, and long to make them real.

Well, we *can* take our destinies into our own hands, and 'are so doing. We shall alter the circumstances in which we live, consciously and with forethought ; and in the new environment natural selection will still have play, perhaps less complicated than at present by an *artificial* selection working in the wrong direction. Consciously, and with the knowledge based on a study of human developments in the past, we must clear away all that hinders the full expression of human character and ability, and hinders their truly ethical, which is their truly socialistic, advance.

The immediate social change required is the policy on which all Socialists are agreed :—Food for all ; decent habitation for all ; good education, physical, intellectual and moral, for all. These are the immediate, clamant, necessities. What it would involve to secure them, and what further changes are required we cannot now discuss.

To so modify the artificial circumstances of our corporate life that the morally best may be in harmony with it, and the worst eliminated is clearly within our power.

It is possible to apply the principle of artificial selection to human beings, even as it has been applied in horticulture and agriculture, and in the breeding of animals,

The congenitally diseased, (or predisposed to disease), and deformed, and those reversioners to anti-social type forming the genuine criminal ingredient in humanity, may be continually kept in check by the discouragement of marriage among them, and if necessary, the forcible prevention of it.

This, and the subject of eugenics generally, may be left for consideration another time.

Our quest has been to examine whether Socialism is incompatible with Darwinism. We have found the answer to be " No ! " I believe I have proved that so far from natural selection being anti-social and

making for individualism, it has developed the altruistic social instinct, and makes for the co-operative commonwealth. All that I have written is certainly in harmony with the discovery of Charles Darwin. "Socialism," says Prof. Karl Pearson, "despite Haeckel, despite Herbert Spencer, is consonant with the whole teaching of modern science."

Darwinism teaches that it is only by a recognition of the solidarity of human kind that the race can continue to survive. The self-seeker must be eliminated; the idler and exploiter must find no congenial environment in which to exercise and develop his parasitism. "You must either be working for the community or leave it." Reverting to Haeckel, he gives but a partial account of the struggle for existence. He emphasises the struggle of the individual in the one society against other individuals. But as Karl Pearson points out in his Grammar of Science, the struggle is not only between man and man, but between group and group, and between the whole of humanity and the totality of its inorganic and organic environment. The second and third of these fields of warfare have been forgotten by the "Great Darwinian," Haeckel. From these we learn that "the socialistic as much as the individualistic tendency is the direct outcome of the principle of evolution."

For the present the struggle is between the worker and the non-worker. The worker must take his destiny into his own hands. There is no use in sitting down waiting for a piece of iron to float. There is no law against its floating, but necessary conditions must be fulfilled. The worker must not, like the patient animal he is, trust to evolution to make things right. The universe is not moral; it cares not for man. Hope and watching may conceivably be good, but they accomplish nothing. WORK only is effective; spread the knowledge of what socialism means; make perfect the organisation of the workers against the exploiters; and if the exploiter shall say, "It is the law, I am the uppermost because I am strongest," the worker shall reply, "Come, now, let us make trial of strength," and the exploiter shall be cast down, for it is the law.

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The Individual Under Socialism.

A COMMON objection against Socialism is that a Socialist State would involve the sacrifice of individual liberty, and that there would be no opportunity for the satisfaction of individual ambition.

Socialism, it is urged by these opponents, considers only the satisfaction of mere physical needs. Socialism, they tell us, lacks the moral element, it ignores human nature, it is meat and drink and nothing more. Such an objection as this betrays an ignorance of Socialism and the Socialist movement which would be irritating if it were not amusing. "Socialism merely meat and drink and material conditions and nothing more!" And were it so, surely is there not need enough to-day for a movement which seeks to provide these things for the millions who are lacking meat and clothing and homes? With, according to the latest investigations made in an industrial English town, about 80 per cent. of the working class living in houses which do not fulfil the barest needs of health and decency; with 52 per cent. of the working class families unable, by long hours of toil, to gain an income sufficient to obtain enough food to satisfy the needs of the body; with one man in every twenty begging for leave to earn his bread but denied the opportunity; with old age dependent on the starvation doles of a heartless Poor Law system; with children going breakfastless to school and mumbling on empty stomachs the Apostles' Creed; with these things on the one hand, and on the other, idleness satiated with luxury and debauchery, there is surely little need to sneer at a movement, did it confine its energies solely to setting these material wrongs right.

But it is further urged that if such an organisation of industry could be established as would ensure work for all willing workers, and satisfy the physical requirements of all, that such an organisation would be obtained at the cost of all that makes life worth living. Remove the incentive of gain, and we are told the motive force of all progress would be destroyed. Socialism would reduce all to one dead level of mediocrity. The individual would lose his identity in a cast iron State. Men would be converted into mere machines, life would be an intolerable servitude, the nation would be converted into one huge prison house. The great

principle of Socialism, these objectors remind us, is Equality; and to ensure a condition of perfect equality would be the work and function of the State. Aye, the State—a monster more terrible in its strength and more tyrannical in its despotism than ever the genius of a Frankenstein created! To ensure this condition of perfect equality, the State will allot to each individual his appointed task, and the whip of the State taskmaster will enforce its full discharge. Intellectual equality would be secured by depriving superior ability of all encouragement to excel, the mental condition of the lowest would be the standard to which all would be degraded to maintain a condition of perfect equality. The State would decide and direct the minutest details of each individual life. The work, the place of abode, the dress, the food, the home, the amusement, the recreation—all would be directed by the State, leaving the individual no freedom but to obey. For the certainty of being fed and clothed, we are to sacrifice the glorious privilege of individual liberty and the blessings of a civilisation won for us by the efforts of gifted free individuals in all past ages. And in the end, it is further predicted, this dead mass of equality would sink into a condition of squalid animalism spurred on to effort only by the whip of the State taskmaster. Socialism, which promised liberty, equality and plenty, will end in a cataclysm of slavery, barbarism, and want.

Surely, but this is a terrible picture, and should give us pause. Who could have thought such terrible consequences lay concealed in such innocent proposals as the national ownership of land, the State control of the railways, every adult one vote, and the enforcement of the Pauline law, that if a man will not work neither shall he eat.

The powers of human imagination are very limited. It is impossible to imagine any new thing. Our pictures of a future society are tainted by what we know of the present. This picture of the individual under Socialism, drawn by our opponents, is an illustration of the difficulty of getting away from familiar ideas, for it is a very faithful representation of the condition of the individual of to-day under a system of boasted individualism. What to-day, under our vaunted individual freedom, is the type of the developed individual? If you would see the works of Competition, and the play of the Incentive of Gain, look around! You will find their monuments everywhere. Surely but it must be in grim irony we are told that Socialism will destroy individual liberty and close the avenues for intellectual development. Let those who fear that Socialism will destroy individual liberty and hinder intellectual development go with their talk to the machine workers of our great industrial towns, who are chained for eleven hours a day to a monotonous toil, with the eye of the

overseer and the fear of dismissal spurring them on to an exertion which leaves them at the end of their day's work physical wrecks, with no ambition but to restore their wasted energies at the nearest public house. Let them go with their talk of the blessings of civilisation to the pottery and chemical workers, whose systems are poisoned, whose sight is destroyed, where through the bodies of the parents being saturated with poison, half the children are born dead, and of the rest not one in four lives to be five—tell *them* to hold fast to their share of the blessings of our glorious civilisation. Or go to the sweaters' victims, living, eating, working, dying in one room for which a grasping landlord will take in rent one-half of all the family can earn by working day and night—talk to them of individual liberty and warn *them* of the tyranny of the coming Socialism. Or go on a bitterly cold winter morning to the dock gates of one of our great ports, and see thousands of men waiting in the hope of a day's job; and watch how a few here and there of the strongest are selected, and the rest left to another day of hunger and despair; or wait still and see how a few remain behind in the hope that their mate may meet with an accident and "they can snatch at the work he had." Or go with your talk of the individual liberty of to-day and the tyranny of Socialism, to practically the whole of our working class population, who live and work not for themselves, but for a master at whose whim they can be turned adrift to starve, or to tramp the country in search of another master who may employ them so long as he can make a profit by so doing, but who, when he finds it no longer profitable to do so, turns them away to perish, he knows not, nor often cares not, where or how. He has paid his hirelings their wages at the market rate, and there the duty of the master and the right of his servant end. Oh yes, we need the warning. We must be careful not to destroy individual liberty nor to close the avenues for individual ambition, which are now open wide to every man who has only sufficient pluck and ability to push his way in the world! Why, to talk of individual freedom and equality of opportunity, under a system of cannibalistic competition like this, is like the mocking laughter of a raving maniac gloating over the torture of the victim it holds in its murderous grip.

There can be no individual liberty where land, the absolute essential to man's existence, is the property of a few and is used by this few to dictate to the many the terms on which they shall be permitted to live. There can be no individual liberty so long as machinery which has been made by the associated labour of all the workers becomes the property of the class, and is used by that class to keep themselves in idleness and to pay the workers wages by wealth taken from them. Under such a system, where the common needs of life are the object of a competitive struggle

in which all goes to the victors, leaving nothing to the vanquished ; in which the sole object in life is to secure a monopoly of what all need so that by this monopoly one may get his fellows into his power to use them for his own selfish ends,—under such a system as this there can be no individuality. There can be no individuality where men work not for themselves, and where they have no voice whatever in determining the way in which the work shall be done. When a man worked with his own tools in his own workshop, and was his own master, he put his individuality into his work. He made what articles he liked, he made them as he liked, he sold them as he liked, and every blow the workman struck left the mark of his freedom and individuality.

But now a workman has no voice whatever in the management of the business in which he is employed. He is a "hand"—a mere cog in the capitalistic machine. He cannot make what articles he would like, he cannot use any genius or individuality he may possess in fashioning the work according to his own ideas. He has to do mechanically the work to which he is set, and he must do it as he is told. The mechanic, "a skilled workman," is employed year after year in making a machine turn out identical pieces of iron from the same model—a model made by somebody else. The weaver is employed in watching a loom turn out hundreds of pieces of the same design. The workman to-day has no opportunity to display any originality or individuality in his work ; and as practically all his waking hours, and indeed all his energies, are absorbed in this monotonous soul-killing work—the inevitable result is, that he becomes devoid of individuality and becomes just a mechanical reproduction of his conditions of work and life. This is why there is practically no such thing as individuality or originality in the mass of the people to day. Their mechanical work, the slavery of thousands to the instructions of one, makes the people of the same class all of one mould.

Look where we will in our life to-day and we find everywhere this lack of individuality, a slavery to fashion, to conventional ideas. In personal attire, where we might expect to find the display of originality or individuality, it is everybody's effort to be in fashion—that is to be dressed like everybody else. To be out of fashion, especially for a woman, requires a courage before which the heroism of a martyr sinks into insignificance. And if there were such a thing as individuality among the masses, where could there be found a more fitting place for its expression than in the homes of the people. Look at the homes of the people ! Long rows of houses, bare and inartistic, every house just like its neighbour, every street the counterpart of the next. And inside the house, in nine cases out of ten, where the people can afford it, we find just the same articles of machine-

made furniture, and in every house arranged just in the same symmetrical positions against the walls. In scarcely a working-class home do we see any evidences of literary taste or artistic bent. In the middle and upper class homes we find the same slavish submission to conventionality, though more expensively but not more artistically expressed. Look where we will to-day and the material world we have created for ourselves is the reflex of a people's character devoid of individuality, dead to beauty and to art, without the inspiration of one elevating ideal. The sordid materialism of our mammon worship has laid its sacrilegious hands on every worthy institution and degraded all to its own depths. It is impossible that there can be an elevated character among a people whose whole life is taken up in seeking after the mere material things of life. This all-absorbing competition to secure material things inevitably destroys all the finer feelings of humanity, and abnormally develops all the animal and baser instincts of our nature. The struggle for material things is animal and develops only animal characteristics. But as man's wits have been developed by this struggle he has brought his wits to aid him in the struggle for material acquisition. Competition is now a battle of wits. Instead of men robbing each other by brute force as formerly, they now cheat each other "by the lying tricks of trade." The man who is the most successful in such a struggle is the man whose animal instincts are most highly developed. The necessities of the people afford the opportunity for seeking to gratify this animal desire for supremacy and acquisition. The object of production is to make profit; not to produce articles which are good, useful, and morally elevating. Consequently the markets are full of adulterated rubbish, cheap imitations of everything—made to sell at a profit. And so far have we been demoralised by this cheap production that we shamelessly justify it all by declaring that a good article lasts too long, while the making of a bad article "finds work," and is "good for trade." Just as former ages have been known from their chief characteristic, as the Age of Stone, the Age of Iron, so this age will be known from its chief characteristic, as the Age of Shoddy.

The outcome of this struggle to get hold of riches is that individuals best fitted for such a struggle survive: those who have most animal acquisitiveness, least consideration for the feelings and sufferings of others, and most of that kind of smartness and unscrupulousness which can make a good bargain. As our ideal of the development of individuality is getting rich by these means—which are the only means by which a man can get rich—we conventionally honour the men who are successful; and so selfishness, cheek, cunning wit, smart business methods—those qualities which are essential to a "good" business man—have

come to be admitted as the most desirable individual qualities. Consequently, as it pays better to live by one's wits than by the work of one's hands, society honours the man who lives by his wits; and useful toil is so despised that a man is ashamed to let it be known that he has only sufficient wit to earn an honest living by the work of his hands and the sweat of his brow.

John Bunyan tells us how the Interpreter showed Christiana and her company a man who could look no way but downwards, and who had a muck rake in his hand. And there stood one holding over the man's head a celestial crown which the man might have in exchange for his muck rake. But the man was so intent on raking together the dust, the sticks, and the stones, that he never raised his eyes to see the heavenly crown above his head. To-day we are like the man with the muck rake—groveling in the dust of materialism—seeking the satisfaction of a carnal mind in things which degrade men's souls and keep their eyes chained to the dust of the earth. Our ideal of individual liberty is freedom to develop those qualities which will enable a man to get rich. It is true that Socialism will destroy such individual liberty as that—the liberty of brute force and cunning wit to crush the weak and rob the innocent.

Socialism means the elevation of the struggle for existence from the material to the intellectual plane. Competition for material things—which are limited in supply—must result in extremes of poverty and riches, for the more one appropriates the less there must be for the rest. But Socialism will raise the struggle for existence into a sphere where competition shall be emulation, where the treasures are boundless and eternal, and where the abundant wealth of one does not cause the poverty of another. The time has passed when men need struggle against each other for their physical needs. We have a command over natural forces capable of supplying every need without the necessity for arduous toil—a command which increases more rapidly than our capacity for its rational use. By the sensible organisation of industry all might be provided with the necessities of a comfortable existence with the expenditure of a little time and labour. The struggle for existence, instead of being a struggle by individuals against each other, should be a struggle by men united together to subdue the external forces of nature for the service of humanity.

Socialism will justify God's way to man. That divine instinct of affection in human nature has through all the ages rebelled against the merciless slaughter of the weak, for tho'

*Nature red in tooth and claw with ravine
Shrieked against the creed*

*We felt that God is love indeed
And love Creation's final aim*

And now Socialism comes as the Angel of Light bearing to mankind this message of truth. Socialism, equipped with all the learning of the ages, takes up the ripest teaching of the poet, the philosopher, the economist, the scientist, the historian, and joins the conclusions of each together into one harmonious whole, which tells us that the weak are necessary, the uncomely are not to be despised, that not competition but the co-operation of all is the law of life. Now we have the knowledge of the truth of Browning's words :—

*All is law,
Yet all is love.*

And now we know that suffering, misery, and poverty are a violation of God's will; now we know that the fulness of time has come for us to cast the last relic of our fallen nature from us and to follow the beckoning angel who is waiting to lead us back through the gates of Paradise into an Eden of intellectual joys.

Socialism, by making land and machinery the common property of all, and using these instruments to supply material needs, will completely change the business and object of life. Socialism will change human nature. The opportunity makes the man. Socialism will take away the desire for accumulating riches. To-day men struggle for riches because the possession of riches gives the command of those things men most desire—social position, honour, independence, freedom from arduous toil and the horror of poverty and starvation. But under Socialism the possession of riches will cease to be a ruling passion, for honest labour will be a guarantee against want, and riches will no longer be the passport to social position. Under such conditions the possession of riches will be a superfluous burden which no sane man will wish to bear. Crimes of property must inevitably disappear. The age of shoddy will be passed, for then it will be to no man's profit to poison another with adulterated rubbish. The demoralisation of present day business methods will be removed, for just as the conditions of employment and the methods of competition of to-day reflect themselves in the character of the people, so the fact that men are engaged in work they know to be good, useful, and honourable will have an elevating influence upon their character.

When the acquiring of riches has ceased to be the object of life; when men's minds are free from the carking care of providing for the morrow; when the perpetual fear of poverty is removed; then men will seek for fresh avenues for the satisfaction of their individual desires. When men have leisure, and they are not enervated by exhausting toil, nor demoralised by superfluous riches, they cannot help themselves from following their natural instincts. Man, under natural, that is under favour-

able material conditions, is an intellectual being, and his intellectual aspirations will manifest themselves when his material needs are satisfied. Just as the nightingale sings in the evening shades, or the lark trills in the summer sky, so man in natural surroundings will seek to gratify his higher nature. The instances of men of exceptional ability who, against adverse circumstances have risen to intellectual eminence, are proof of the fact that this higher nature of man is constantly striving to burst through the obstacles to gain the intellectual life for which men were created.

And Socialism will create a condition of things favourable to the development of the higher type of individuality. The organisation of industry, the saving of the present waste of competition, will reduce the labour of supplying the physical needs to the narrowest limits, leaving abundant leisure for the satisfaction of individual desires. And the conditions under which this necessary work will be done will be healthy, pleasant, and elevating. Men and women will be educated to take an intelligent interest in their work. Society will have discovered that it is best for society and for the individual to put him to the work he can best do, and this will transform his labour from a drudgery to a perpetual joy. John Ruskin truly says: "When a man is rightfully employed, his amusement grows out of his work as the colour petals out of a fruitful flower." Socialism will realise that desirable condition.

Socialism will provide all the conditions which are necessary for the gratification of every reasonable desire. Even if the acquisition and enjoyment of material wealth were a desirable object, Socialism will gratify that better than our present system. Under competition it is certain that but a few individuals can realise the sordid ambition of getting rich. To-day nineteen persons out of every twenty who die leave no property behind them. But under Socialism—and Socialism, it may be said, does not involve the abolition of private property; under Socialism a man will be permitted to possess just as much private property as he can honestly earn; but he will not be permitted to use that private property to rob others of their private property. Under Socialism nineteen-twentieths of the people will be better off materially than they are to-day, for they will be equal partners in all the productive and distributive wealth of the community.

Socialism will establish the moral conditions which are necessary for the development of true individuality, and the exercise of true liberty. The moral basis of Socialism is the recognition of the eternal moral law, that the individual as a member of society is limited in his development by the development of the society of which he is a member. Herbert Spencer

puts it in this form : "The individual development in a given period is determined by the corresponding development of the social organism." In other words, the civilisation of the mass determines the condition of the individual. For instance, we do not find a Shakespeare among the Hottentots, a Gladstone among the Malays, an Edison among the Feugeans. The individual cannot rise above the highest civilisation of his own race or society. For example, the nearest approach to the ideal state of which history has any record was in Ancient Greece. The Greek ideal was the perfect state. In reality it was not a democratic state, but an oligarchy based on slavery. But within the oligarchy where the state ideal was recognised there were produced as a consequence, individuals of every sphere of intellect—poets, orators, philosophers, artists, who have never since been equalled, let alone surpassed. After two thousand years, in spite of the vast increase in the sum of human knowledge which has come by natural evolution, we have not raised the type of the individual man. And the reason is because we have not raised the condition of society ; and the dead weight of society has prevented the development of the individual. What we need is an answer to Browning's prayer—

*Oh God, make no more giants,
Elevate the race.*

Socialism will raise the dead weight of society which now crushes the development of the individual. Socialism aims at making the ideal state as a necessary condition to making the ideal individual. And when men realise this great fact that their own development depends on the development of all, then a perfect society will come to be regarded as the ideal to the attainment of which all individual effort should be directed. The recognition of this great fact will show individuals the folly of seeking the gratification of their own individual desires except by promoting the welfare of all. The well-being of all will now be seen to be necessary, not merely as a sentimental thing but as a scientific fact. When it is recognised that the common life is the source of the individual good, then love for the common life will take the place of love of self. The desire to serve the common life, to advance its welfare, will be the highest ambition of the individual ; and in this service he will find abundant scope for the satisfaction of his aspirations. This love for the common life will manifest itself in making all common things beautiful and joyful.

*Men should be simple in their homes,
And splendid in their public ways ;
Filling the mansions of the State,
With music and with hymns of praise.*

And this claim that in a moral state love for the common

life will take the place of love of self, is no mere dreaming sentiment. It is that love for the common life which has been the inspiration of every noble life whose memory is enshrined on the hearts of men. What has kept alive the worship of the Christ through the persecution of nineteen hundred years? Not the knowledge of his kingly rank, but because He, being rich, for the common good became poor. Self-sacrifice for the common good has in every age appealed to the highest admiration of men. It has been instinctively felt that this is the highest trait of human nature, and men have accorded to it their highest meed of honour. Selfishness, we are often told, is in human nature. If this be so, then there is no reason to be ashamed of selfishness. And yet where is the man or woman who is not ashamed to be considered selfish. Our feelings are better than our creed. Deep down in our hearts we know that selfishness is not human nature, and we express our real human nature when we deprecate selfishness and honour self sacrifice.

And when we find so much of this love of the common good manifested in the past and to-day under conditions not favourable to its development, is it not reasonable to expect, that when we have established industrial and social conditions, favourable to its growth, that we shall see a love of the common life, and a pride in the common life, the dominating motives of individual action?

The fear of the tyranny of the State, under Socialism, which is felt by some opponents, though quite unfounded, has some excuse from past experience. In the past, the State has always been the representative of the oppressing and exploiting class. Under slavery the State was the slave owner, under feudalism the State was the baronage; under capitalism the State is the capitalist. But under Socialism the State as we have known the State in the past, will have disappeared; for under Socialism, there will be no classes, but all the people will form one class, and the government and organisation will be democratic, each individual having an equal voice in directing the affairs of the common life. And as Socialism postulates an intelligent democracy, this discloses at once the absurdity of the fear that Socialism will result in the oppression of the individual. When all the power will be in the hands of the whole people: when the condition of things is what the common sense of an intelligent, self-governing community makes it, is it not foolish to suppose that such a people will voluntarily inflict upon themselves the terrible condition of things the opponents of Socialism profess to fear?

Those who fear that Socialism will destroy individual liberty, fail to distinguish between liberty and licence. Individualism is licence—it is the freedom of the individual to do as he

likes without regard to the effect of his action on others, or even without regard to his own best welfare. Socialism is liberty; for it will restrict the freedom of the individual to inflict injury upon others, or to do what is morally injurious to himself. Socialism is the observance of law. "Government is eternally and in all things the law of life," says Ruskin. It is only through the observance of law that men can enjoy individual happiness. Just as physical health is maintained only by obeying every law of health, so individual liberty, the true development of individual character, can only be secured by obedience to all those moral restraints which govern the conduct of individuals and society. Law is slavery only when the law is inflicted by a class upon another class. When all submit to law imposed by all for the common good, then law is not slavery, but true liberty. For do we not sing sometimes :—

*True liberty it is to share
All the chains our brothers wear;
And with heart and hand to be,
Earnest to make others free.*

Socialism is something more than meat and drink, and food and clothing. It attaches so much importance to industrial reform, because we must first establish the material base of life on a moral foundation before we can raise up a society of moral and intellectual men and women. Material conditions are the soil out of which the intellectual life of the people grows. Socialism seeks first the kingdom of industrial righteousness, and then all else shall be added to it.

Instead of Socialism being merely a material movement, seeking only satisfaction of physical needs, it is a movement which is seeking to subordinate materialism to the intellectual life, and Socialists are working for the industrial commonwealth because they realise that only by such an industrial organisation can there be individual liberty and opportunity for true individual development. And when Socialism has freed the individual from the all engrossing task of supplying his material wants; when all have independence and equal opportunity, then we shall find that what we have regarded as exceptional natural gifts is not the endowment of a favoured few only, but the normal condition of all humanity, and that in more ways than we have yet dreamt of the Father of all is no respecter of persons. What man may become under favourable conditions is beyond human imagination to conceive.

*For man is not man as yet;
Nor shall we deem his genuine aim put fairly forth,
While here and there a towering form
O'erlooks its prostrate fellows:*

*While here and there a star dispels the darkness,
Not until the whole host is out at last,
Then, and not till then,
Begins man's general infancy.*

And in conclusion may we point out that the moral spirit which Socialism will generate will not be confined within the selfish limits of nationality. Socialism is brotherhood; and brotherhood is as wide as the heaven and as broad as humanity. The growth of international Socialism is the promise of the realisation of the angels' natal song: "On Earth, peace; Good-will toward men." Socialism will remove the causes of international antagonism, and make the interest of all nations the same. And when Socialism has joined the people of every nation and of every tongue into one human brotherhood, then the dream of the noblest spirits of all ages will be realised—for then

*War shall cease and ancient fraud shall fail,
Returning Justice lift aloft her scale,
Peace o'er the earth her olive branch extend,
And white-robed Innocence from Heaven descend.*

That is the work which Socialism has set before it, and whether the day of its realisation be near or far depends upon us. If we are determined that it shall be, then the day of its coming shall not be long delayed. The ideal is in the future, but our work lies in the present. The Age of Chivalry is not past. To-day we all may win our knighthood spurs in a nobler chivalry than tilting a lance before the Queen of Beauty. If you would win this nobler knighthood, come with us, and help us to take the children out of the fœtid slums into the pure air of God's own country. Come with us to the man with the muck rake and tell him to lift his eyes from the earth, and to seize the celestial crown above his head. Come with us and help us to abolish poverty, sin, and suffering, and to bring hope and health, and joy and liberty to every child of our common Father.

*Oh, who would not a champion be
In this the knightlier chivalry;
Up, rouse ye now brave brother band
With honest heart and willing hand:
For there are those that ache to see
The day dawn of our victory;
Eyes full of heart-break with us plead,
And watchers weep and martyrs bleed,
Work, brothers, work, work hand and brain,
We'll win the Golden Age again,
And love's millennial morn shall rise
In happy hearts and blessed eyes;
We will, we will, brave champions be,
In Labour's knightlier chivalry.*

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on the subject of Socialism and Agriculture, but for the opinions
expressed the author is responsible.*

Socialism and Agriculture.

PRESENT-DAY FARMING.

IN these days people talk freely about Agricultural problems without understanding in the least the greatness of the issues involved or the far-reaching importance of the subject. There is no political or economic subject so much studied and understood in its various parts as is the Agricultural problem, and there is no subject that is so little understood or so little studied in its entirety as that same vast problem.

Agricultural economics is the most difficult branch of social science and the one which offers a greater field for the amusing antics of the faddist, the crank, and the ignoramus than any other. To discuss the question of wages, hours, or conditions of employment in the engineering, textile, or mining trades, it is not necessary to have a close knowledge of the technical working of these industries. To consider intelligently the problem of municipal or national ownership of electrical undertakings, the railways, or steamship lines, it is not necessary to understand all about ohms and volts, etc., to be proficient in the details of the block system, or to understand the science of navigation. But in Agriculture it is different. Agricultural economics can only be studied by those who have a technical knowledge of agricultural life and work, and the variations in that knowledge cause a great bias as to the economic reasonings which are based upon it.

Town people, as a rule, know less about the production of their own food than about almost any other industrial subject. To them agriculture is either merely a constant succession of simple operations of the back garden order, or else a vague unknown problem which is too abstract and complicated for them to trouble about. Agriculture has not so far produced an economist with a real grip of its problems in relation to the problems of the towns, nor has it produced a great idealist. Neither Blatchford, Morris, Bellamy, or any other writer, has yet given to us an ideal of agricultural life in the future, from a Farmer's point of view. All that has been so far offered to the agricultural people has been a life of slavery in the backwoods, whose chief attraction is that greatest discovery of the 20th century, the £150 cottage, without space, without sanitation, and surrounded by a quagmire of mud.

The agricultural economist must understand the work of the farmer in relation to rotations of crops, varieties of soils and their treatment, manures, their composition and uses, agricultural implements and their developments, the various breeds of animals and

their peculiarities. He must also know something of the condition of markets and the trend of a variety of trades, as well as the progress of mechanical traction and the problem of the railway rates. This knowledge he must be able to associate with a close acquaintance with village life and the peculiar characteristics of the rural mind, and must co-ordinate this with a knowledge of the development of the modern movement towards higher wages, shorter hours, and better conditions of life for the workers.

This, then, is a brief outline of what agricultural sociology is, and it will be seen to offer an unrivalled field for further study. There being considerable difficulty in presenting so vast a subject in pamphlet form, the following pages are intended to stimulate thought, to raise discussion, and above all, to stir the people to action upon the most vital problem of our time.

The real Agricultural problem is as follows:—

The organisation of the production of Agricultural wealth of the best quality, without scarcity; without waste, and in such a way as to produce the highest type of humanity.

All other problems, such as sizes of farms, systems of tenure, methods of cultivation, etc., are parts of the main question, and should be studied only with that idea in view.

To see how far modern methods of farming fall short of solving the great problem, it is well to briefly look at the Agricultural life of our land to-day. We hear of a "decayed Agriculture," a "ruined industry," an "empty country side," and such things, but the farmer's capital of the United Kingdom, estimated at £6 per acre for the 47,500,000 acres under cultivation is £285,000,000. This is actual working capital, apart from the value of the land, buildings, fences, etc., and capital which is quite capable of being withdrawn and placed in other industries. It is but little short of the combined value of all the gasworks, ironworks, waterworks, and canals in the kingdom.*

The same writer states that the total value of the Agricultural lands and the farmhouses, buildings, fences, roads, ditches, etc. (profits under Schedule A of Income Tax, 1902-3, equals £52,000,000 capitalised at 18 years' purchase) amounts to the huge sum of £936,000,000, or nearly the total estimated value of the whole of the railways of the United Kingdom.

The census of 1901 gives us a total of 1,128,604 persons occupied in Agriculture in England and Wales alone, of whom 1,071,040 were males and 57,564 were females. These figures include 12,035 woodmen, and 128,229 non-domestic gardeners, nurserymen, seedsmen and florists; 123,125 being males and 5,140 being females. These persons are of ten years of age and upwards.

* *Riches and Poverty*, by Chiozza Money, pages 57-8.

The census being taken in the early part of the year, it probably falls far short of the real number of those engaged in Agriculture. This total of 1,071,040 males engaged in agriculture, forestry, and nursery work is nearly one-tenth of the total number of males engaged in all occupations in the least agricultural and most industrial part of our Islands. The total given by the census is 10,156,976.

In addition to the above, it has been estimated that there are 50,000 children regularly engaged in Agricultural work.†

Now how are these people treated, and what is the relationship between this huge army of workers and the problem of the towns?

On referring to Mr. Wilson Fox's report on wages, earnings, and conditions of employment of Agricultural labourers in the United Kingdom, 1905 (c. d. 2376), we find that Agricultural labour is the worst sweated and worst treated of any labour in the Kingdom, and that the Agricultural Labourer is not under the Truck Acts. That his wages, *including the full value of all Truck, estimated not by an outsider or himself, but by his employer*, vary from 8/11 per week in Sligo and 8/9 in Mayo, in Ireland, to 22/2 per week in the County of Durham, or an average of—

18s. 3d.	per week for all kinds of English Farm Labourers.		
17s. 3d.	"	Welsh	"
19s. 3d.	"	Scottish	"
10s. 11d.	"	Irish	"

These figures are for able-bodied male adults; foremen or casual labourers not included.

To show the great poverty of the Agricultural Labourers, it is only necessary to state that amongst the male workhouse inmates over 10 years of age at the census of 1901 there were 9,469 Agricultural Labourers out of a total of 106,863, rather more than one-eleventh of the whole; or, deducting the general labourers and those whose occupations are unspecified, there were 37,296 inmates who have a definite trade, more than one quarter of whom were Agricultural Labourers; and this in spite of the fact that Agricultural Labourers are employed at a considerably greater age than are most other workers.*

Having now seen that present-day farming is one of the greatest factors in the sweating problem, and noticing by the way that by reason of the varying times and seasons causing a great fluctuation in the numbers of those employed, and, in consequence, aggravating the unemployment problem, we must now see whether present-day farming succeeds in feeding the people and providing them with their other various Agricultural needs.

According to the Official Statistics published by the Board of Agriculture, there were in 1906 510,833 separate holdings from which particulars of crops, stock, and cultivations were gathered. These 510,833 holdings were largely farmed and managed by

† *Child Slaves of Britain*, by R. Sherard, page 17.

* *Riches and Poverty*, by Chiozza Money, pages 57-8.

separate holders, and without any co-ordinated idea as to what kind of crops or how much of each they were severally to produce.

There exist no statistics of any kind showing the needs of the people, and as a result all Agriculture is guess work and haphazard to the last degree. It cannot be too often repeated that farm produce is largely highly perishable and that the greatest of all needs is the need for organisation. Every one is more or less familiar with the huge figures of our imports of food stuff, and it is useless to labour the point that most or all of it could be produced at home. The problem is *how?* Even now, with our limited production, home grown foods often meet a glutted market, and the grower has sent to him a bill of costs, and loses his produce into the bargain.

In this connection, it may be mentioned that the constant extension of the operations of the foreign chilled meat companies and their increasing control of British markets is a growing menace to individual producers in our free trade country, and a great factor in depreciating the value of a large part of our Agricultural produce. How far this control of our markets has gone may be gathered by those who have studied the prices of beef in the last few years and seen the large number of retail shops and railway vans devoted to the foreign trade and noted the constant complaint of the graziers in the agricultural papers as to the low price of beef and the unremunerative state of the grazing industry.

Under present conditions of production and distribution foreign produce is sent far inland and home grown stuff is sent to the coast towns, and goods are conveyed from one place to another quite irrespective of anything but the vaguest kind of need for them. It should be perfectly easy to know that a town of a certain size would need certain specified quantities of beef, milk, mutton, pork, poultry, potatoes, vegetables, fruit, and other Agricultural produce; and it should be quite as easy to say that that quantity could be produced on a specified number of acres of agricultural land, and that the remainder, as well as luxuries and local specialities, must be imported from a distance.

Every Poor Law Authority and other big consumers are able to estimate their needs of these things, and it is but a small step from that to estimating the needs of the whole people of a town. But to estimate needs is one thing, to estimate produce is another; and recent legislation, by increasing the number of producers, tends to increase the confusion. While it is fairly easy to estimate the amount of produce of a farm of 500 acres under one management, it is practically impossible to estimate the produce of that farm if cut up into 50 sections of 10 acres each and with 50 different styles of farming.

Modern farming has not succeeded in producing food in a clean, healthy, and wholesome state. The filthy story of private enterprise in Agriculture still awaits a sensational writer to tell. In Agri-

culture there is a story of uncleanness and horror that by its magnitude and intensity would put even Chicago into the shade.

It would be an easy matter to dwell upon these things and tell of verminous fruit pickers, strawberries littered with manure and sulphured just before picking, dirty fruit baskets, unhealthy and unclean poultry and pigs, tuberculous goats, dirty milk, the evil work of amateur slaughtermen, and such things; but it is of no use while the whole tendency of the times is to produce those conditions which encourage and perpetuate all that is insanitary and unhealthy by the multiplication of farms.

Is efficient inspection of farms and the proper enforcement of the best sanitary conditions a reasonable proposition, I ask?

The plain fact of the matter is that real sanitary inspection is impossible under present conditions; it is too costly for one thing, and if proper sanitary conditions were insisted upon the necessary outlay would be so great that all the smaller men would have to go under. So that the mighty fabric of Small Holdings which is being built up with so much labour is really based upon the twin foundation stones of insanitary conditions and sweated labour.

To show that life on Small Holdings is no better but rather worse than life on large farms for the workers, the following evidence from Mr. Wilson Fox's report to the Royal Commission on Agriculture, 1895, may be given. It should be noted that owing to the current prices of Agricultural produce and the keenness of competition the conditions of the life remain practically unchanged to-day.

A farmer of 30 acres says: "I am now working harder than ever I did when I was a labourer, and am earning less." His wife said: "We often have not a penny we can spend; when we were working for wages we had better food than we have now."

One who farmed 47 acres of freehold says: "I brought up a family and nearly worked them to death. They said: 'Father, we are not going to stop here and be worked to death for nothing.' So they went off into shops and left me and the old woman to struggle along. When they were here they got no wages, now they are ladies and gentlemen." Such instances could be multiplied indefinitely.

In order to show that in a free trade country the conditions of life of the Small Holder cannot be other than slavery, it is only necessary to mention that the cost of production of the average crop may be roughly stated as follows:

Labour, including manual and horse, or other power,	75%
Rent, Rates, Taxes, and Insurance, etc.	5%
Manures	15%
Seeds and Sundries	5%

This of course varies very much in various crops and in varied systems, as, for instance, when two crops are grown in one year the rent, etc., is halved, but even on the largest farms, and with the best machinery and organisation, the cost of the average crop in labour is well over 65 percent. It is easily seen that with the increased capital expenditure on roads, fences, buildings, etc., necessitated by Small Holdings, rents must be higher and labour greater, so that the only possible profit must come from long hours and women and children's labour.

Modern Agriculture under Individualism has failed on every count. It has produced sweating, filth, and scarcity, and it now remains for us to see whether the people should not own and manage their own food supply, and whether by so doing they would better their conditions. They could not well be worse and still let us claim to be a civilised people. The heart of the poverty problem lies in the fact that National and Municipal efforts have not been directed towards the three great needs that Agriculture supplies—food, clothing, and shelter. When the people's food is as well organised and managed as the people's roads, when the crops of wool and flax are as well managed as the Post Office, and when the crops of timber are as well ordered as the people's Navy, we shall then be far on the road towards abolishing poverty.

COLLECTIVIST FARMING.

The principle of Collectivism in agriculture is by no means new or unknown. It is accepted in a great variety of directions throughout our public life, amongst others by the following bodies who own and manage Agricultural land:—

1. The Commissioners of Woods and Forests.
2. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners.
3. The War Office.
4. The Charity Commissioners.
5. Various Agricultural Colleges and Dairy Institutes.
6. The Prison Authorities.
7. The Municipalities.
8. The Poor Law Authorities, Rural and Urban.
9. The Hospital Authorities.
10. Various other bodies, such as the Metropolitan Asylums Board, &c. To these it may be added that Collectivist Farming was strongly recommended by:—

A Departmental Committee of the Board of Agriculture. (See report on British Forestry c.d. 1319.)

This Committee recommended under date Nov. 29th, 1902, "that large state forests be established in such a way as to yield *as large a profit as possible*. Not, it is true, as a means of State revenue,

but as a department of Education, although, whatever the motive, the fact remains that Collectivist farming for profit has been thus advocated under a Tory Government.

In this connection it should be especially noted that the report on Forestry above quoted contains the following striking sentence:—"Professional, equally with scientific, witnesses pressed for instruction or demonstration areas, under State or Corporate control, so as to secure that continuity of management without which a sustained annual yield and a maximum return is impossible."

If this is so in Forestry, it applies with a hundredfold greater force in general Agricultural matters, and this weighty pronouncement of experts contains one of the greatest arguments it is possible to bring forward in favour of Collectivist Agriculture. Is not the food of the people of more value than Forests, and are not "continuity of management" and "a maximum return" as necessary when growing fruit trees as they are for the advancement of the science of Forestry?

In this connection it should be remembered that every farm loses a large portion of its *usual maximum productiveness* owing to that lack of "continuity of management" above mentioned. How much it is difficult to say with certainty, but probably more than 10 per cent. of its time is so lost. Changes of tenancy, illness, or old age of tenants, and the inexperience of young men, frequently cause farms to "run down" or fall below their usual maximum productiveness. This loss is quite apart from loss of productiveness owing to fluctuations of markets necessitating a change of system and other such causes.

The following instances of the Collectivist principle being successfully applied to Agriculture will show that the industry is well fitted to be developed in that direction.

Glasgow owns 1,700 acres of Agricultural land.

It raises crops to the value of £5,848 annually.

It grows oats, potatoes, turnips, cabbages, wheat, and barley; and as much hay as supplies all the wants of the cleansing department stud, as well as those of other departments.

It has also started sheep farming.

Nottingham farms nearly 1,900 acres.

It owns 800 cows and other cattle, 150 horses, from 500 to 700 sheep, and 500 pigs. It has a wages bill of £4,500 per annum, and a turnover of £16,000 per annum; and as a result of cleanliness and efficiency, combined with fair wages, it is constantly extending its operations.

Reading farms 870 acres.

It has about 250 cattle, 65 shire horses, and a herd of pedigree Berkshire pigs. It employs about 80 men in the winter on the farm, and considerably more in the summer; and, in addition, a number of carpenters and wheelwrights and other estate workers. The crops grown are of the best quality, and the financial result is highly satisfactory.

Other instances of successful Municipal farming could easily be given, but these will suffice. Another interesting instance of the possibilities of Collectivist farming is furnished by the Returns published by the Board of Agriculture of the various Agricultural Colleges and Dairy Institutes, etc. (See Annual Report on the Distribution of Grants for Agricultural Education and Research, 1905-6, c.d. 3317.) In a summary of the financial results of these Institutions, we find that out of nine Institutions having a total expenditure of £49,299 for all purposes, including housekeeping and such items, no less a sum than £13,305 was cancelled by receipts from sale of farm produce, or, roughly speaking, more than 25 per cent. of the total expense. These Institutions are run solely for educational purposes and not for profit.

Amongst smaller instances of successful Collectivist Agriculture it would be possible to produce the evidence of a large number of the smaller Rural Workhouses, two of which must be taken as typical. Eastry Union, near Dover, Kent, has about ten acres of land. It keeps pigs and grows potatoes, cabbages, onions, turnips, lettuces, radishes, tomatoes, etc. Casual labour is used, and tramps are a source of *profit* rather than loss.

An Agricultural paper, under date November 23rd, 1907, gives the following item of news:—

The farm account in connection with the Carlisle Workhouse, shows a profit on *the last six months* of £156, realised mainly by the sale of vegetables, corn, hay, and pigs. A proportion of the produce is also used in feeding the paupers themselves.

Wherever a few fowls are kept, or a few flowers or vegetables are grown to supply the needs of the inmates of a public institution, there the principle of Collectivist Farming is accepted, and it only needs the development of existing conditions to make a profound change in the whole of the revenue of the country and to turn some of the most expensive branches of the public service into profit makers instead.

Many opportunities present themselves for the further application of the principle, with a view to raising revenue for the people, not the least of these being the utilization of the bye-products of the farm. Amongst these may be mentioned timber and firewood, flints,

stones, and brick earth. Direct ownership and management of stones would result, in some districts, in a reduction in the cost of materials for the upkeep of the roads by 20 per cent. and upwards.

The great Agricultural estates of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests and Ecclesiastical Commissioners offer exceptional advantages for effecting an enormous saving to the taxpayer.

These estates comprise, roughly speaking, 350,000 acres. (This acreage of the Crown and Ecclesiastical Commissioners is not published, but was given to the writer by a high official. The figures are not guaranteed, but may be taken as approximately correct.) This land is at present let to tenant farmers, and is situated in various parts of the country. As the occupiers gradually gave up their holdings, the land could be taken over to the public service to produce such things as—

1. Army Horses.
2. Army and navy foodstuffs, such as beef, mutton, pork, veal, potatoes, fruit, tinned and fresh milk, etc.; also hay, straw, corn, and flax for rope making, and many other such things.
3. Timber and firewood of many kinds to be used in the public service.
4. Such things as leather, road metal, wool, building materials, etc., for use in reducing rates and taxes.

Now assuming that the whole of this 350,000 acres was without capital, it would only take an outlay at £6 per acre of £2,100,000, or about equal to two battleships, to bring it to the public use, and this would be a remunerative outlay of the first order, bearing an immediate and direct result to the taxpayer. But many of the farms are even now in the hands of the public, and capitalised by public funds, though devoted to private trading. The remainder would gradually revert to the people, and big economies would result from unified management. It should be noted that these two bodies, the Office of Woods and Forests and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, have always a staff of trained and experienced men ready to take over the management of the farms as they fall in.

In this connection it should be mentioned that the *house refuse and road sweepings alone* of our big towns provide an immense source of fertility which is now practically wasted. How great that waste is may be shown by the calculation which has been made that the house refuse and road sweepings of London, if placed on the land at the rate of 20 tons per acre, when well rotted every other year, would provide fertility for 116,000 acres, an area more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ times its own size—an undertaking far beyond the power of private enterprise in any form.

The War Department is the owner of various large tracts of land, the acreage of which is not published, at every garrison town, especially at Aldershot and on Salisbury Plain, where the management is understood to be of the usual War Office order. This land, if placed under the excellent management of the Office of Woods and Forests, would prove a most valuable revenue producing asset of the nation. Many of the big hospitals and other semi-public bodies derive a precarious rental or most precarious profit from large farms owned and managed by them. Many benefits would result if, instead of the governors of the hospitals selling their produce in the country and buying it again in the towns, they sent it direct from their own farms; and, with the coming municipalisation of the hospitals, the value of the land would be greatly increased.

The Prison Authorities are easily in a position to do a great deal towards extinguishing the huge sum charged in the National expenditure to Courts of Justice account. All the penal establishments should have workshops and farms under their control, and work in harmony with Local Urban Authorities, who could assist in the provision of fertilising material as before shown, and so tend to become self-supporting.

In the big towns where a lack of Agricultural knowledge in the managing bodies is likely to be an objection to Collectivist farming, the need could be met by either purchasing the goods wanted from farms managed by Rural bodies or else by the engagement of a first-class Agricultural expert, in the same way as is done with success in the engineering, legal, electrical, medical, architectural, and other professions. Finally, every public body should be encouraged to take up a farming department whenever and wherever it would be found convenient and in harmony with its other work; the whole supervised, criticised, and assisted by the Board of Agriculture, in the same way that other departments of public life are under the Board of Trade and the Local Government Board.

Space will not permit of a full discussion of the effect of such a policy as that above outlined upon the problems of unemployment, sweating, housing, etc., in their entirety, but it may be well in passing to glance briefly at these subjects and see whether a Farmer's ideas will not help in their solution. The poverty problem and all that is involved therein is essentially an agricultural problem, because it is in the first place a problem of the provision of Agricultural produce for the people. Practically all the writers on the question of unemployment ignore the fact that, as before shown, agriculture in England and Wales employs nearly one-tenth of the male occupied population and is a seasonable industry of the first importance. It employs under modern conditions of work a very fluctuating number of workers; how great that fluctuation is may be seen when it is stated that on fruit farms the numbers often vary

from 150 persons largely working overtime in summer to a dozen or so working short time in winter. While fruit-growing may be taken as an example of extreme fluctuation of labour, it is nevertheless true that even on the quietest and most old fashioned corn and sheep farms there are busy seasons when extra workers are wanted and the ordinary workmen are working overtime. In addition to this, it should be remembered that not only do the seasons cause fluctuation in agricultural work, but the weather in the various seasons acts largely upon unemployment. For instance, a cloudy and dull week in the strawberry districts will cause many to walk the roads looking for a job; a late cold spring will delay farm work; while a "growing" autumn will delay the raising of the potato and mangold crops, with disastrous results to the casual workers employed in that work. Any proposed regulation either of hours, wages, or employment which ignores these vital facts must be doomed more or less to failure. Factories and workshops can be started and stopped practically at will, but farm work depends entirely on the seasons and the weather. The adoption of Municipal and State farming for the purpose of supplying State and Municipal needs would also necessitate workshops in which to work up the produce of the Farms and also to regulate the labour. It should be remembered that there is nothing revolutionary about combining agricultural work with factory work, because many skilled agricultural trades, such as sheep shearing, hop drying, tree pruning, etc., can only be done during a short time of the year, and the workers in those trades have to be engaged in other occupations during the rest of the year. From the Agricultural point of view, such a combination of intelligent and well paid workshop labour with farming would enable much work to be well done in the spring and autumn which is now badly done in the winter, when the land is neither fit for horses or men to be upon it. This regulation of employment by production for public use, instead of for trading purposes, would early tend to absorb the whole of the unemployed at a living wage, and bring the workless man to the source of wealth in a rational and simple manner. It would of course be unable to absorb those who by reason of lack of physical, mental, or moral development were fit subjects for Farm Colonies or some other form of curative agencies for their especial diseases. By this treatment of the problem of unemployment the subsidiary problems of sweating, housing, home work, child labour, etc., would largely cease to trouble society, because State and Municipal farming would regulate the wages of the largest section of the workers in the same way that Individualist farming at present degrades the workers as a whole by setting the standard of wages on the lowest level.

The reform here advocated is the easiest and simplest of all reforms; it needs no great Acts of Parliament, no beating of the great war drum against the hosts of the House of Lords, and it is the one reform that would do more for the people than any other. It needs

but a departmental readjustment to decide that public-owned land, which is probably at least one-fifth of all the land under crops, shall be used for National purposes, and gradually as fresh land was needed it could be purchased, and with the purchase would go all the old disputes as to rights of way, game laws, systems of tenure, etc., that have been the battle ground of the interests for centuries.

The Municipalities could easily purchase farming land as needed, and it only needs an effective agitation in the democratic parties to bring this about.

When any considerable portion of the farming land of the country comes under the control of the people, all the whole conditions of dirt, chaos, and waste will disappear ; a living wage will be paid ; and by the addition of indoor workshops, as already indicated, a regular supply of skilled labour will be available at the varying seasons of the year, and a six days' week and the eight hours' day, even in harvest, will become possible.

The Farming Land is the key to the problem of poverty. It is the great storehouse of the national wealth, and the most important question before the democracy is whether it will choose to assert its right to have this real "Bank of England" in its own possession and for its own benefit, or be content to muddle along in the bad old methods of an out of date Individualism.

Agriculture is the cinderella among the industries. In all lands and in all times farm workers have been amongst the lowest in the social scale. English labourers, Scottish "hinds," Continental peasants, the cowboys of the western plains, and the Indian ryots, all alike are ignorant, despised, underpaid, and neglected of men. Agriculture is the universal drudge who feeds, clothes, and houses mankind, and everywhere its workers are below the level of those of the town. But the end of the story is at hand. The Socialist Party is the fairy godmother, and Collectivism is the magic wand which will transform this poor despised slave into the Queen amongst industries. Collectivism will raise agriculture to its true place and make its people take their rightful position as the most honoured amongst craftsmen. Collectivism will promote agricultural science and stimulate the genius of our farmers to produce finer crops and animals than they have yet accomplished, even though Britain is now the Stock Farm of the World. It will destroy all that is little, mean, and ignoble in our country side, and fill the beautiful hills and valleys of our native land with a wealth far surpassing that of Eastern fables. It will reveal to our town bred people their great Agricultural inheritance, and will use the brown earth, the golden glory of the corn, and the myriad tints of our native plants, to paint upon Britannia's Isles the fair picture of a nation's ideals.

Collectivism in Agriculture, by beginning at the elementary needs of man, will cause our social problems to vanish away as the

mist of the morning at the rising of the sun of freedom. It will produce a race of men and women who are keen with the intelligence and shrewdness of the towns, and self-reliant and strong as the countrymen, and who are worthy to carry into the new time the best traditions of our national life.

The old story tells us that the first Paradise was an Agricultural one, and the modern science of sociology tells us that the Kingdom of Heaven and the dream of the ages, whose advent is being hailed in every Socialist meeting in the land, must come through the medium of a renewed and glorified Agriculture.

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How to get Small Holdings and Allotments.

THE purpose of this tract is to explain in simple language the ways in which Allotments and Small Holdings may be obtained.

The Small Holdings and Allotments Act of 1907 comes into force on the 1st of January, 1908. This new Act is not a self-contained measure, in which all the law on the subject is to be found. The former Small Holdings and Allotments Acts will be still in force, though they are amended in many important particulars by the new Act. In future, however, the acquisition of allotments or small holdings will be governed mainly by the Act of 1907, and the powers we shall describe will be found in that Act unless it be stated otherwise. Those who desire the Acts of Parliament bearing on this subject should get Small Holdings and Allotments Act, 1907, price 3d., and White Paper 189 (Allotments and Small Holdings), price 3d. These can be obtained through any bookseller.

THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE.

The new Act does not leave the County Council or the District Council to finally settle whether applicants shall have land or not. The Board of Agriculture has appointed two Small Holdings Commissioners, who will have a staff under them. The expenses of these Commissioners will be paid by Parliament.

THE COMMISSIONERS MUST ENQUIRE:

These Commissioners must set to work to ascertain to what extent there is a demand in each county for small holdings, or would be if suitable land were available. For this purpose the Commissioners must confer with the County Councils, *and they may co-operate with other authorities, associations, and persons.*

THE POWERS OF AN INDIVIDUAL.

The words we have put into italics are important. A County Council might be opposed to putting the law into operation, and they might try to convince the Commissioners that there was no desire for Small Holdings, and that there was no suitable land to be got. It is open for any association, or *for any person*, to

make representations to the Commissioners. Where one or more persons in a parish desire Small Holdings, they should communicate with the Commissioners, addressing just a formal letter to

*The Commissioners for Small Holdings,
Board of Agriculture, London.*

At the same time the applicants should make a similar request to the Clerk of their own County Council; and it would be well to let the local County Council know that this has been done.

It will rest with the persons who want the Small Holdings or Allotments to make the machinery move. A County Council may know that Small Holdings are wanted, but they may not do anything to meet it unless the Commissioners compel them.

WHEN THE DESIRE IS PROVED.

When the Commissioners, as a result of their enquiries, find that there is a demand for Small Holdings or Allotments, or when they get applications from any association or persons, they must communicate it to the local County Council. After the Commissioners have made personal enquiries and reported that a scheme is necessary, the Board of Agriculture must forward the report to the County Council. Upon receipt of this report it is the duty of the County Council to prepare one or more draft schemes.

A draft scheme may specify localities, approximate quantity of land needed, the number, nature, and size of the Small Holdings required, and other details. Two or more County Councils may co-operate in this matter when desirable.

IF THE COUNTY COUNCIL FAILS.

If, when the Commissioners have reported to the County Council that they think a scheme necessary, the County Council fail to prepare a scheme within six months, the Board of Agriculture may instruct the Commissioners to do this over the heads of the County Council.

If the County Council refuses to act upon a report of the Commissioners, a public enquiry must be held. The Board, after considering the objections and the report of the person holding the enquiry, may confirm or annul the scheme.

If a County Council will not carry out a scheme approved by the Board of Agriculture, then the Board may assume all the powers of a County Council in relation to Small Holdings, and any expenses which the Board may incur, which would have been properly paid by the County Council, shall be repaid by

the County Council, and shall be recoverable as a debt due to the Crown.

AN ASSOCIATION NEEDED.

It will be seen that there is a good provision in the Act for making an unwilling County Council move. One person may set the machinery going by applying to the Board of Agriculture ; but it will carry far more weight if a Small Holdings and Allotments Association were formed by those wanting to put the Act into operation ; or better still, if the Parish Council could be induced to take the matter up. The Commissioners could not decline to give attention to a demand coming from the Parish Council.

HOW TO GET THE LAND.

Assuming that we have got so far as to get the County Council to move, we will now explain how the land may be obtained and on what terms it may be let.

A County Council may buy land outright, or they may hire it by agreement, or lease land by compulsion. A Small Holding means a holding which exceeds an acre and does not exceed fifty acres, or if it exceeds fifty acres does not exceed fifty pounds in value on the assessment roll.

LAND BY COMPULSION.

If the County Council cannot buy or hire land by agreement, then if they wish to purchase they may submit to the Board an Order putting in force the Lands Clauses Act. If the Council propose to hire the land compulsorily they may submit to the Board an Order for the compulsory hiring of the land for not less than 14 nor more than 35 years. It is important to note that no additional compensation is to be paid because the land is purchased or hired by compulsion. If, when the amount of compensation to be paid has been ascertained, it appears to the Council that the land cannot be let at a reasonable rent without loss, the Council may withdraw from the bargain. Where land has been hired by compulsion, the Council may renew the tenancy for such term (not less than 14 or more than 35 years) as they may desire.

WHAT LANDS ARE SACRED.

The County Council is prevented from exercising its powers of compulsion in an arbitrary way. It cannot, for instance, take any part of a park, garden, or pleasure ground, or home farm ; nor must an undue quantity of land be taken from one owner or tenant. No holding or farm of fifty acres or less is to be taken,

nor any part of it is to be taken compulsorily. Care is to be taken to avoid as far as possible displacing any considerable number of agricultural labourers.

Where a labourer is deprived of his employment, owing to the land upon which he worked having been converted into small holdings, the County Council may compensate him.

A County Council may acquire land for the purpose of attaching rights of grazing to Small Holdings or Allotments.

COMPENSATION FOR IMPROVEMENTS.

The tenant of a Small Holding or Allotment shall have as against the Council the same rights with respect to compensation for improvements as if it had been agreed in writing that the holding or allotment should be let as a market garden.

The Council is also entitled to compensation for all improvements which have increased the value of the land when it gives up the tenancy of land which has been hired.

THE EXPENSE OF ACQUIRING LAND.

In the past the cost in legal and arbitration and other expenses, which has had to be included in the price, has been so great that it has been almost impossible to get land cheap enough to let at a fair rent.

To some extent the new Act alters this. The period for the repayment of the purchase money has been extended to 80 years. This will make the annual charge in the rent very much less. The Act also authorises the Board of Agriculture to repay to a County Council the whole or part of any expenses which the Council may have incurred in acquiring land for Small Holdings, except of course the purchase money and compensation.

ONLY ONE ARBITRATOR.

The Act also simplifies the process of buying land by compulsion. In cases of compulsory purchase there can be only *one* arbitrator. He is to be a man who is able to act mainly on his own knowledge and experience, and he is not allowed to hear counsel or experts unless the Board of Agriculture permits. A scale of costs is to be fixed by the Board of Agriculture.

In cases of *compulsory hiring* a valuer is to fix a rent, and he is to act solely on his own knowledge, and upon any information he may gain.

HOW THE LAND IS TO BE LET.

The County Council is to form a Small Holdings and Allotments Committee. It may consist wholly or partly of members

of the Council, but the members of the Council shall be a majority. All matters relating to Small Holdings and Allotments are to be referred to this Committee.

A County Council must make rules regulating the letting of holdings and allotments.

ASSOCIATIONS AND CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

The Council may let one or more small holdings to persons working on a co-operative system, and in addition, but only with the consent of the Board, may let one or more holdings to an Association formed for the purpose of promoting small holdings. But this Association must be so constituted that the promoters or members cannot divide the profits among themselves. This is intended to prevent the formation of Associations letting out allotments to tenants at a profit.

BUILDING HOUSES.

The County Council can erect one dwelling house on each holding.

ASSISTING CO-OPERATION.

A County Council may promote the formation or extension of Societies on a co-operative basis, having for their object, or one of their objects, the provision or working of Small Holdings or Allotments, whether in relation to the purchase of requisites, the sale of produce, credit banking, or insurance or otherwise. The County Council may, with the consent of the Local Government Board, make grants or advances to such Societies, or it may guarantee advances made to the Societies.

AN IMPORTANT CLAUSE.

The foregoing is a most important provision, and the success of the Small Holdings Act will depend largely upon the extent to which small holders co-operate together and seek and obtain the assistance of the County Council. It will be possible, under these powers, for small holders to form co-operative dairies, co-operative societies for buying machinery and other requisites, co-operative banks and co-operative distribution agencies.

We have now explained how Small Holdings may be acquired. It remains to give some information as to the way to get Allotments.

HOW TO GET AN ALLOTMENT.

The new Act transfers the powers of the Local Government Board under the Allotment Acts to the Board of Agriculture.

~~may~~ An Allotment may now be of *five* acres instead of being limited to *one*. But a Council is not *compelled* to provide Allotments over one acre in extent. The Council may erect or adapt buildings and dwelling houses for Allotment holders, but shall not erect a dwelling house with any allotment of less than one acre.

PARISH COUNCIL THE ALLOTMENT AUTHORITY.

The Rural District Councils have now nothing to do with Allotments. The powers they have hitherto had are transferred to the Parish Councils or Parish Meetings.

A Parish Council, if unable to get suitable land for allotments by agreement and on reasonable terms, may acquire land by compulsion in the same way the County Council can get it for small holdings.

The Parish Council has the same power of letting allotments to persons working on a co-operative system, or an association, as may be exercised in respect to small holdings by a County Council.

HOW TO ACT IN THE FIRST PLACE.

It is the duty of the County Council to make enquiries in every urban district (other than boroughs) and rural parish as to the extent to which there is a demand for allotments, or ~~would be a demand if suitable land were available, and the extent to which it is reasonably practicable to satisfy such demand.~~ The County Council must, in making these enquiries, seek the assistance of such bodies as the Parish Councils. If the County Council fails to perform this duty, the Board of Agriculture may empower the Commissioners to act.

MAKING THE POWERS ACT.

The first thing to do is for those persons in a parish who want allotments to move through the Parish Council, or if the Parish Council will not act, to approach the County Council, and if that body will not do its duty then a statement should be sent to the Board of Agriculture.

THE TENANT OF THE STATE.

We have now completed the explanation of the main provisions of the law of small holdings and allotments. These powers, though by no means complete, are useful, and they ought ~~to be used to the fullest extent.~~

The farm labourer, who ~~wants to stop in the country, but~~

who is not satisfied to remain a mere labourer, is now provided with the means to raise himself to the position of a small land holder.

There are many obvious advantages in being the tenant of the County or Parish Council. The tenant has security of tenure and the guarantee of getting back what he puts into the land. He will have political and religious freedom, and be free from the fear of having his rent raised because he is making the best of the land.

It is much better that the small holder should be the tenant of the Council than that he should own the land. He is free from anxiety about paying off his mortgage, and he can use his little capital in stocking his farm, while he is as secure as if he were the absolute owner.

THE USE OF THE VOTE.

It will have been noticed that the County and the Parish Councils have the powers in connection with Small Holdings and Allotments. It is therefore very important that the men who are put upon these Councils should be in sympathy with the labourers, and desirous of promoting Small Holdings and Allotments. There is no difficulty anywhere in the labourers putting the right men on the Parish Councils. It may be more difficult to send poor men to the County Councils. But where it can be done, it should be done. But if the Parish Councils are all right, the County Councils can be made to do their duty by the Parish Councils moving the Board of Agriculture.

The use of the powers of these Acts may help to improve the housing conditions in country parishes, seeing that the Parish Council may build a dwelling house with each acre allotment.

These Acts of Parliament, as we said, are by no means perfect or complete. But they will do for the present. The way to get more powers is to use well the present powers.

It is to be hoped that great advantage will be taken of that part of the new Act which enables the Council to assist co-operation among its tenants. Not much can be done nowadays by men working alone. In every district there ought to be Co-operative Societies formed by the Small Holders, so that they may be better able to buy their manures, food stuffs, and implements, and to get a common market for their produce, and to send it away in larger consignments. There are unbounded possibilities in this direction.

The use of co-operation in the forms referred to above is characteristic of the agriculture of the Continent. Small holdings seem to lend themselves to successful co-operation. Without co-operation their successful working is impossible.

A FURTHER USE OF CO-OPERATION.

A great deal remains to be yet accomplished before the land can be utilised to its highest capacity. More attention must be given to agricultural education, to the means of transport, as for instance the improvement of our roads and the public ownership of the railways. But these things cannot be done until the demand comes from the people who are interested; and therefore the establishment of these co-operative societies, through which action can be taken, is a very important matter.

This tract is not an essay on the present position or the future of agriculture. It has been written merely to put into plain words the law as it now is on the subject of Small Holdings and Allotments. Those who are interested in the wider question of the possibility of British agriculture will find some interesting books and pamphlets on the subject mentioned on the back page of this tract.

The Agricultural Problem is a very important part of the Labour Problem. The Labour Problem can only be completely solved by Socialism, and if the reader of this pamphlet has not studied Socialism, we would advise him to begin now and learn what it is.

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Secular Education The Only Way.

By
Harry Snell.

PUBLISHED BY THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY,
28, BRIDE LANE, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.

*THIS PAMPHLET is issued with the
endorsement of the Council of the
Independent Labour Party, but for the
opinions expressed the Author is responsible.*

Secular Education—The Only Way.

THE hundred years conflict respecting the teaching of religion in our system of elementary education, has at length reached a crisis which the English people must speedily remove.

A country's position among the world Powers depends largely upon the physical and mental equipment of its people. They alone constitute its enduring power. Physically, the English people are being slowly poisoned by adulterated food, enfeebled by slum dwellings and sweated labour, while their mental development is being sacrificed to the interests of a few powerful religious sects, who unanimously insist that some form of religion should be taught at the expense of the State, but who cannot for a moment agree what that religion should be.

How is this lamentable controversy to end? Will the English people, weary of futile attempts to make peace between the combatants, make an end of the problem by limiting the State's responsibility to the provision of an education on a scientific and civic basis, or will it prolong the conflict by again attempting the impossible task of a satisfactory compromise?

The answer of the I.L.P. is a unanimous demand for the Secular Solution. Most people are convinced that sooner or later the policy of secular education must be adopted, and the Labour party insists that it should be adopted now. If secular education is inevitable there is no sense in spending months, or years, in trying to patch up a compromise, which, even if successful, will only postpone for a short time the real solution.

There are many reasons why no further attempt should be made to secure a compromise which would perpetuate the teaching of religion in the nation's schools. The chief among these is that, any compromise which might be arranged between the greater religious organisations, would be passionately resented by the minorities whose convictions it would over-ride. Religious conviction is one of the matters upon which real compromise is impossible. It is not an idle opinion that may be modified to meet the opinions of other people; it is an inviolable personal conviction that is outraged when pruned or mutilated for

political convenience. Burke alleged that compromise was the soul of politics, and up to a point he was doubtless correct. But religious conviction is not politics and it cannot be treated in the same way.

There is also the fact that the history of the question during the last hundred years, proves that a satisfactory compromise is impossible. When Whitbread introduced his Bill into Parliament in 1807, the same parties were in the field that occupy it to-day, and the religious difficulty which wrecked his proposals has also destroyed every succeeding attempt. The Churchmen stood on one side, the Nonconformist on the other, waging a bitter and implacable warfare, while between the two were a handful of far-seeing men of the stamp of Robert Owen, who stood for a system of purely secular instruction. Since 1807 to this day the conflict has never ceased. Whenever the quarrel appeared to be settled by Parliament it was continued in the School Management Committee, in the appointment of teachers and in the control of inspectors. What our fathers failed to achieve during a hundred years of anxious warfare, it is not likely that His Majesty's Government will achieve in 1908. The plan of "simple Bible teaching" destroyed Mr. Birrell's Bill of 1906 as it destroyed the efforts of his predecessors. "It was Cowper Templeism in 1870. It was Russellism in 1850, and Durhamism in 1840, and Broughamism in 1820 and Lancasterism in 1807. It is condemned by as prolonged and explicit a political experience as was ever given to a suggested compromise." (*)

Every attempt to secure a satisfactory adjustment of the claims of various denominations has conspicuously failed, and all hope in that direction must be abandoned. The Act of 1870, so far from settling the problem, inaugurated a theological warfare which to this day has victimised both the child and the nation, and which grows more bitter as time proceeds. What exactly was attempted in this case? Reduced to its baldest terms the compromise of 1870 was a tardy arrangement, accepted without enthusiasm, by a few powerful sects, all of whom had designs upon the public purse and the public conscience. Each agreed to share with its opponent the spoils of

* Joseph McCabe "A Hundred Years of Education Controversy."

warfare because each was too feeble to take them alone. The churches, as such, fought throughout, not for education, but for their interests as corporate bodies. Education suffered while the religionists quarrelled for the soul of the child. Finding it impossible to get their own particular tenets accepted and paid for by the whole of the nation, the State was made to pay for teaching supposed to be more or less common to them all, thus securing free competition in religious enterprise, with State assistance for all alike.

Such an arrangement ended as it deserved to end—in failure. It was, in fact, no compromise at all. It satisfied nobody and it deceived nobody. The parties concerned, repeatedly broke through the compact they had made, while the claims of the minorities were deliberately overridden. Under this sectarian conspiracy, Jews, Catholics, Unitarians, Freethinkers, Theists, Positivists and other minorities, were compelled to pay for the teaching of a religion to which they could never assent. The question of justice was never considered. The whole matter was decided by the strategical advantage possessed by a few well organised religious corporations, who compelled the State to endow their particular beliefs with the taxation and machinery provided by all.

The position taken up by the Church of England in this matter has throughout been logical and straightforward. The churchman believes in the State endowment of religion; he points with triumph to his own endowed establishment, and he logically insists that it is the duty of the State to teach religion in the school as well as in the Church. When the question arose as to what religion should be taught in the nation's schools he had the prior claim. His church was the national church, established by law, and he had some right to maintain that, if its religion was the official religion of the nation, and suitable for the nation's adults, it was also suitable for the nation's children. Therefore, in seeking to impose his religious teaching upon the nation's schools, the churchman was acting strictly in accordance with his fundamental beliefs, backed by the evidence of his own church, and upon what he conceived to be his undoubted rights.

But who can understand the position of the Nonconformists

in this matter? The nonconformist denies the right of the State to teach religion at all. It is on this ground that he insistently demands the disestablishment and endowment of the Church. He affirms with complete justification that, it is monstrous to compel him to pay for the upkeep of a church in which he does not believe, and whose services he will on no account attend. So absolute is his conviction on this point that he will, rather than pay this iniquitous tax, allow his household goods to be seized and sold by public auction, and will undergo repeated imprisonment rather than submit.

Thus far the nonconformist is acting in strict accordance with the fundamental principles of his order, which command our respect. The churchman and himself represent two hostile and irreconcilable principles, one holding that it is the duty of the State to teach religion, the other that it is not. The churchman remains consistent throughout, but the nonconformist, directly the question of national education arises, flatly denies his own convictions, and joins hands with the church in inflicting upon sects that are in a minority, the injustice that he will not himself tolerate.

The simple fact is that, if principles count for anything, the nonconformist has no right to ask that religion should be taught in the schools at all. These institutions are established and endowed by the State for the purpose of universal instruction, every citizen is compelled to pay for their upkeep, attendance at them is compulsory, and whatever argument is valid against the payment of church rates by those who reject the church's doctrines, applies with equal force to the teaching in the schools of tenets, to which those who are forced to pay for them cannot assent.

If it is wrong to use public money for the teaching of religion to adults in the church, it is also wrong to use it for the teaching of religion to the children in the schools. On the other hand, if it is right for the nation to endow any form of religion in the school, it is also right for it to endow the same religion in the church. If a State religion is admissible for the child, why not also for the man? If not for the man, why for the child?

The truth is that the nonconformist, by his fundamental principles, stands pledged to the policy of secular education. If,

however, he remains obdurate, and refuses to allow disestablishment of religion in the schools, the Labour Party and Socialists may retaliate by seeing that it is not disestablished in the church.

Let us imagine the impossible situation of a compromise being arranged that would satisfy the chief denominations of the nation. Would that lessen the injustice inflicted upon the smaller bodies that were not parties to it? Suppose, also, that these minorities, rather than submit, copied the nonconformist tactics, became passive resisters and went regularly to prison, what would be the attitude of the nonconformist bodies towards them?

A hackneyed reply to these objections is that the objecting parent can take advantage of the Conscience Clause and withdraw his child from religious education. Granted the willingness of any parent to place his children in a juvenile pillory, the financial imposition still remains. If there is any Conscience Clause whereby the payment for religious teaching may be avoided, tens of thousands of people in this country would be glad to hear of it.

In reference to the immediate problem, it must be remembered that there are difficulties in the way of a satisfactory compromise which did not present themselves in 1870. Rightly or wrongly, educated men and women have now a view of nature and religion which cannot be imparted through "simple Bible teaching." Any new compromise must include, not only those who love the church or chapel, but also those who love truth. "Simple Bible lessons" involve teaching by the nation of the story of Creation as told in Genesis, the story of the Flood, of Noah and the Ark, of the Sun standing still on Gibeon at the command of Joshua, of the destruction of Sennacherib, of the Virgin Birth, of the Resurrection and Ascension, of miracles and many other things. Now whether these stories are true or not, the fact remains that they are not accepted as truth by much of the best intelligence of the land, and they ought not to form a part of the national system of education. The teaching for which a great nation becomes responsible in the twentieth century, should be in accordance with the experience of all scholars and scientists, and where all have to pay for the teaching

given it should be beyond reasonable dispute.

Truth is a very precious thing. Thousands of noble men and women have died for it, and no reflecting parent will consent to have the child he loves, taught doctrines that are rejected by the majority of educated men. To back with the authority of the nation, teaching which the scholarship of the nation rejects, and to force this upon its children, is to commit an outrage upon both truth and the child.

The compromise has broken down after long and repeated trials and it must not be again attempted. There is but one plan which is satisfactory, permanent and just to all citizens alike, and that is that all State-paid education should be confined to secular subjects.

Immediately the secular solution is mentioned many false issues are raised. Are the children to grow up without religious instruction? This question meets the advocate of secular education at every turn. The answer is that there is no reason why they should. But the provision of a religious education is not the business of the State, but of the churches that exist for that special purpose. The country is covered with a network of religious establishments of one kind or another. Every parish has its beneficed clergyman with a sufficiently commodious building at his disposal. He is also surrounded with well organised dissenting chapels with an adequate supply of ministers, lay preachers and religious helpers of all kinds. There are hundreds of thousands of Sunday School teachers, district visitors, lay, readers and others whose help the churches could command. What are these people doing that it is necessary for the State to teach religion?

The nation demands the attendance at school of the child for only *five and a half hours* each day. Every minute of this precious time should be taken up in giving to the child a thoroughly efficient civic education, and there is surely a sufficient margin in the *eighteen hours and a half* that are left for sleep and leisure, in which the churches could provide whatever religious instruction they desire the child to have.

There is some show of argument in the demand that Boarding Schools should provide a religious education, for these schools become the homes of the children for the greater part of the year,

but it is indefensible for the religious bodies to neglect their duties during the time when the child could be at their disposal, and then to demand that, at the expense of the whole community, the State should make good their deficiencies.

The business of the State is to deal with the child as a future citizen whose welfare depends upon his receiving an efficient civic training. It is unconcerned with its religious beliefs. As a religious being, the parent may desire special religious instruction to be given to his child, but he has no right to demand that the State should give it at the expense of those who may reject it. The State is the educational authority ; the Church the religious authority, and each in its place is best. Reading, writing, calculation, honesty and the civic virtues—these are the responsibility of the Nation. Religious dogma, creed, the spiritual exercises—these are the responsibility of the Church. Any attempt to over-lap in these functions leads to difficulties that hinder the State and the Church alike.

In writing thus it must not be assumed that I desire to contest the value of religious education in its proper place. On the contrary, while I hold that the welfare of the nation is vastly too important to be endangered by the alleged needs of the Church; I hold equally strongly that religious conviction is far too sacred and important a matter to be interfered with by the State.

Another misapprehension or misrepresentation of secular education is that it involves an attack on religion itself. There is no justification whatever for this belief. Secular education means simply that religion shall not be taught in the schools at the ratepayers' expense or by the public machinery. It does not denounce and condemn religious teaching ; it simply does not include it in its elementary curriculum. Why this proposal should lay the advocates of secular education open to the charge of wishing to attack religion it is difficult to say. The Royal College of Music does not attack medicine because it does not teach it. The Notts County Cricket Association is not opposed to the game of football, because it does not organise it. These bodies confine themselves to their own affairs leaving outside matters to be dealt with by other bodies whose special business they are.

Secular education means the teaching of knowledge apart from religion ; it is neither religious nor irreligious ; its policy is to remain neutral upon a subject about which there is not, and cannot, be general agreement. It maintains that nothing either for or against religion should be taught in the schools for the upkeep of which people of differing religious views have to pay, and to which they are compelled to send their children.

There is also the objection urged against secular education that, without religious instruction, there would be a great outburst of juvenile Hooliganism and that the morals of the community would greatly suffer. The twofold answer to this is that our streets to-day are not models of purity and cleanliness, and that secular education produces no such results where it has been tried. Let us take first the illustration of France. Until the year 1886 the schools received a more or less well organised religious instruction, but in that year definite secular instruction began. There was not an absolute cleavage, however, for there continued to exist a great number of clerical schools in various parts of the country. But it is a fact that between 1836 and 1880 the legal offences had risen from 50,000 to 150,000 in a population that was practically stationary. When full allowance is made for any possible increase of police activity, these figures are not an overwhelming testimony to the advantage of a religious education. But what has occurred since 1886 when secular schools were first introduced ? There has been a steady decrease of crime in a population that is slowly though constantly increasing. In 1889 the number of boy offenders under sixteen years of age amounted to 4,080 whereas in 1894 it had fallen to 3,582, while during the same period the number of girl offenders fell from 728 to 620.

Mr. Joseph McCabe* gives the following table of boys found in French reformatories in the latest years for which figures can be obtained.

At the end of 1896 there were 5,023 boys.

„	„	1897	„	4,901	„
„	„	1899	„	4,037	„
„	„	1900	„	3,828	„
„	„	1901	„	3,568	„

* "The Truth about Secular Education."

These figures do not, to say the least, justify the belief that secular education involves a necessary increase in crime. It should also be remembered that the total number of French prisoners has fallen from 35,745 in 1896, to 27,039 in 1901.

Take again the case of Australia. In Victoria, which alone has a purely secular system, we find crime decreasing out of all proportion to the other States. Since 1890 to 1903 its population has increased by a quarter of a million, whereas the number of its summary convictions has fallen from 24,494 to 15,741 in the same period. Side by side with this, take the case of New South Wales, where formal religious instruction is given for one hour each day by either a clergyman or a teacher whom he appoints. The population in both cases is about the same, but the prison population in New South Wales is almost twice that of Victoria. In 1890 the number of summary convictions amounted to 48,102, a number which steadily rose until 1903, when it reached 51,379

From these figures it would seem possible to make out a case for the suppression of religious teaching on the ground of morals, but I am only concerned to prove that secular education does not lead to wholesale crime and moral disaster. Perhaps one reason for the success of Victoria in lessening its bill of crime is that, sectarian disputes being impossible, the whole mind of the people is concentrated on how to get the greatest advantage out of the schools for which they pay. That there is no danger likely to arise from secular education everyone acquainted with Australia knows quite well. A Primitive Methodist minister, writing to me on this point said, "For 14 years I resided in different parts of Queensland where the objects taught by your League (the Secular Education League) had been attained, and I am not aware that the social or moral life of the people suffered. There was a total absence of religious bickering and strife, and a far more mutual and generous recognition among religious sects than I have seen in this country." So far as England is concerned it cannot be claimed that our present system has been a conspicuous success, or that "simple Bible teaching" has produced satisfactory results in regard to sobriety, cleanliness and purity. "After twenty years," says Canon Barnett, "we have neither taught self-respect nor the means of

earning a livelihood. Our streets are filled with a mob of careless youths, and our market is stocked with workers whose work is not worth fourpence per hour."

In addition to the reasons already given for abandoning religious education in schools, there is the further objection that it inflicts an injustice on the teacher as well as the citizen. Teachers, like other people, have religious views of their own which cannot be suppressed when religious instruction is being given. Many are teaching religion to-day, not because they believe what they teach, but because it is made a part of their duties as teachers. Religious teaching imposes upon these important servants of the community, tasks for which the great majority of them are unfitted either by conviction or training. Nor is the difficulty overcome by a supposed right of the teacher to be excused from those particular duties. The simple fact is that not one teacher in a thousand dares to take advantage of this alleged privilege. Not only would his doing so thrust more work upon his colleagues, who might actually share his views while lacking his courage, but it would almost certainly injure his chances in his profession. The opportunities and responsibilities of the teacher are perhaps greater than those of any other public servant, and he should be left free to carry on the work for which the nation has appointed him.

What is the kind of teaching that is expected from him? The answer is found in the questions submitted to children at the scriptural examinations, which, in themselves, form a convincing argument in favour of secular education. Consider the irrelevance to a child's mind of such questions as the following:—

"Give an account of Elijah's translation to heaven."

"Relate the narrative of the healing of the daughter of the woman of Canaan."

"What account does St. Mark give of our Lord's baptism."

"What do you know of Caleb (a) in the time of Moses (b) when Joshua was leader?"

Can anyone pretend that the teaching, that would enable a child to answer questions of this kind, is sufficiently important to set the nation by the ears, to cause passive resisters to go to prison in droves, and, generation after generation, to hamper educational progress? What do babies of from 6 to 12 want

with this kind of knowledge in any case? Surely it is ludicrous to teach a boy of this age, whose one desire is to spin tops, that he must not covet his neighbour's wife, nor worship foreign gods. Any reference to the above questions, which are selected at random from questions actually submitted to children, will show that they could not adequately convey the moral lesson which religious teaching is supposed to give. And considering the condition of English public life, and the imperative need for reform, the child might well be left to learn about Caleb when a little older, and the nation's time and money devoted to teaching him how to make of England a sweet and prosperous nation. Religious folk do the Bible a serious injustice by forcing it upon a child's mind before it can be understood. The language of the Bible is not suited to a child's experience. To convey any lesson whatever it must be interpreted, and explained, and qualified, and this shows the futility of "simple Bible teaching."

There is only one way out of this difficulty. Religious teaching must be handed over to the sects whose special business it is, and the State must concern itself with secular subjects only. The educational work of the nation must be rescued from the sects that harass and obstruct it. Even if the majority of them could agree as to the teaching to be given, the minorities would still continue to urge their claims. But they will not agree, therefore there is no alternative but to remove them from the nation's schools altogether.

Secular education is not alone the only just and satisfactory plan; it is also the only possible plan. It has justice, expediency, national security, and educational efficiency on its side. And since it is in any case inevitable let us insist upon its adoption before further harm is done.

The position of the Labour Party has happily always been clear on this matter. It has stood consistently for the secular solution, and in view of the promised Education Bill of next year it is presented with a great opportunity. No other body in the kingdom possesses its propagandist power or its zeal for any cause it takes up. Politicians of all parties are so wearied with this interminable dispute, that they only wait for the mandate of the country to drop it once for all in favour of secular education. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is known to be in

in favour of it, as are many of his principal followers. Speaking at the Alexandra Palace in November, 1902, he stated that "If we Liberals had our way there would be no religious difficulty at all. We should confine ourselves (I believe nine-tenths of the Liberals would confine themselves) to secular education, and to such moral precepts as would be common to all, and would not be obnoxious to people who do not come within the range of Christianity." The late W. E. Gladstone was an advocate of secular education, as are also Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Rosebery, John Morley, and many others. There is, moreover, a wide movement in this direction in the churches themselves. The Congregational Union, at the Glasgow Autumnal Meeting in 1902, declared "That there can be no final solution of the religious difficulty in national education until the State lays aside all claims to interfere, either by support or control, with religious education, and freely leaves to parents and Christian churches the responsibility and opportunities for the provision of the same." Resolutions of the same kind have also been passed by the British and Foreign and Unitarian Association, the Liberation Society and many smaller religious bodies, while at the Trade Union Congress, 1907, the voting by card on this question amounted to 1,239,000 for, and against only 126,000; or more than ten to one in favour of the secular solution. The Secular Education League has already a membership of a thousand people of all shades of opinion, among whom are nearly three hundred clergy and ministers.

These facts show that the question is well within the sphere of practical politics, and that secular education is both imminent and inevitable.

Workers! Learn for yourselves what Socialism means. Study the Question at your own fireside. ———

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Old Age Pensions This Year

**A History
A Statement
A Scheme**

By Philip Snowden, M.P.

**"The Government regard the question of Old Age Pensions
as one of EXTREME URGENCY."—Mr. Asquith, Nov. 20th, 1906.**



**PUBLISHED BY THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY
23, BRIDE LANE, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.**

Old Age Pensions this Year.

IT is said that the question of Old Age Pensions was discussed in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, who died in the year 1553.

By the time King Edward the Seventh ascended the throne in 1902 Old Age Pensions had become a question of practical politics.

In 1894 Mr. Chamberlain said the subject was "quite ripe for legislation." In the same year, the Midland Liberal Unionist Association, Birmingham, issued a leaflet setting forth Mr. Chamberlain's Old Age Pensions Scheme.

Mr. Chamberlain's Simple Plan.

In view of all that has since been said about Mr. Chamberlain's "proposal" it may be well to state what it really was. The leaflet contained the following:—

"Old Age Pensions guaranteed by the State. Mr. Chamberlain proposes a payment of £2 10s. (before the age of twenty-five) and a subscription of 10s. a year to secure for a man a small pension at the age of sixty-five. Those who pay £5 down and 20s. annually will also provide for the payment to their widows and children in case of death before sixty-five. Men who have received a pension of 2s. 6d. a week in a Friendly Society will have their pensions doubled by the State. Further information on the Pension Scheme may be obtained from any Liberal Unionist agent."

Sitting upon the Question.

Between 1893 and 1903 five Commissions and Committee have sat upon this subject. A very brief summary of the conclusions of each of these Committees may be useful here.

The Royal Commission on the Aged Poor, presided over by Lord Aberdare, was appointed in 1893. It was required "to consider whether any alterations in the system of Poor Law relief are desirable in the case of persons whose destitution is occasioned by incapacity for work resulting from old age, or whether assistance could otherwise be afforded in those cases."

This Commission considered two Old Age Pension schemes submitted to them. The first was the grant of a pension from public funds of 5s. a week to all persons on attaining the age of 65 years, without contribution on the part of the pensioners. The second scheme was that of Mr. Chamberlain outlined above. The Commission rejected both schemes; the first because it would cost too much money, and the second because it would be very difficult to carry out and would fail to attract the class of people who become dependent in old age. The final outcome of the Commission's two years enquiries and deliberations was that "in view of the financial and economic difficulties involved" they were "unable to recommend the adoption of any of the schemes as yet suggested."

This Commission, which had been appointed by a Liberal Government, reported on the eve of the General Election of 1895. The very unsatisfactory character of the report gave the Tories the opportunity to criticise the Liberals and to dangle

the bait of Old Age Pensions before the electors. From every hoarding in the country the appeal was made to *Vote for the Tory Candidate and Old Age Pensions*. The case against the Liberal Government was made the blacker from the fact that on the 4th of April, 1894, they refused to assent to the second reading of an Old Age Pensions Bill, pleading that they were waiting for the Report of the Commission.

What the Tories did.

The Tories were returned by a great majority. The party who had voted for an Old Age Pensions Bill when they were in a minority, who had put a proposal before the country "so simple that anyone could understand it," who had gained the votes of innocent electors by promises of pensions, now began to shirk dealing with the question. Under pressure, the new Tory Government agreed to appoint a Committee to frame a Bill, but this idea was abandoned. On the 13th December, 1895, it was announced that the Committee "would examine the question with a view to legislation." By the 4th of February, 1896, the Government had changed its mind and the proposed Committee was "to examine and devise, *if possible*, a satisfactory scheme." By the 29th of February the Government had altered its mind once more, and explained that the Committee it was intended to appoint would "consider the details of this *most complicated* subject."

It was not until July, 1896, that a Committee was appointed. This Committee was presided over by the millionaire, Lord Rothschild. Its instructions were to consider "any schemes that might be submitted to them for encouraging the industrial classes by State aid or otherwise, to make provision for old age. This Committee examined something like a hundred schemes, and at the end of two years they reported that none of the schemes submitted would attain the objects which the Government had in view; nor could they devise a proposal free from grave inherent disadvantages. Millionaire Rothschild and his colleagues expressed grave fear that a State pension of 2s. 6d. a week at sixty-five would discourage the exercise of thrift among the industrial classes.

The failure of this second Committee stimulated the friends of the movement to renewed activity. In the next session of Parliament (1899) several Old Age Pensions Bills were introduced. The Government resorted to the familiar dodge of referring the question once more to a Committee, and appointed a Select Committee of the House of Commons (Mr. Chaplin's Committee) to "consider and report upon the best means of improving the condition of the aged deserving poor, and of providing for those of them who are helpless and infirm, and to inquire whether any of the Bills dealing with old age pensions then before Parliament could, with advantage, be adopted, either with or without amendment."

We have not space to give more than the barest outline of the conclusions of this Committee, but it is important to indicate

the character of these conclusions because they are the first practical suggestions officially made. The Committee stated that in their opinion it was practicable to create a workable system of Old Age Pensions for the United Kingdom, and that the general lines upon which such a scheme might be framed would be one under which any person 65 years of age, being a British subject, would be entitled to a pension, subject to the following conditions :—

- (a) that he had not been convicted and sentenced to imprisonment within the previous 20 years ;
- (b) that he had not received poor relief during the previous 20 years ;
- (c) that he had not an income of more than 10s. a week ;
- (d) that he had been thrifty and provident.

The Committee suggested that the cost should be borne by the poor rate with a contribution from imperial sources ; that the pensions should be of from 5s. to 7s. a week ; and that they should be paid through the Post Office.

The outlook now became a little more hopeful. In the same year a Departmental Committee was appointed to enquire into the financial aspects of the scheme recommended by Mr. Chaplin's Committee. The calculations and conclusions of this Committee are very important, as they supply the most reliable estimates of the cost of Old Age Pensions. We shall have to refer to these calculations when we come to deal with the matter of the cost of a system of Old Age Pensions.

The sky darkened once more. The South African war came, and the Government were "too much occupied" to discuss Old Age Pension Schemes. Interest in the subject was revived in May, 1903, when Mr. Chamberlain launched his Tariff Reform proposals, which "he would not look at" if they did not give money for Old Age Pensions. A month later Mr. Chamberlain made up his mind that Tariff Reform was "no part whatever" of the Old Age Pension question, and with this declaration the Tory Party's ten years' record upon this subject comes to an end. It is a record of years of cruel and heartless mockery of the misery of the aged poor.

The Labour Agitation.

During the years Parliament was playing with this matter, the organised Labour forces of the country were agitating the question and making a strong public opinion upon it. At each Trade Union Congress since 1899, a resolution has been passed demanding Old Age Pensions as a civic right, and not as a pauper's dole. The Co-operative Congresses, since 1901, have passed similar resolutions. The Friendly Societies at first feared that a State system of pensions might affect them adversely, and for some time they took up the position that the Old Age Pension question should be dealt with by the State subsidising the Friendly Societies. In the year 1902, however, the National Conference of Friendly Societies resolved at their meeting in Manchester :

"That this Conference, representing three and a half millions of members, is of opinion that it is the duty of the State to provide an Old Age Pension of not less than five shillings a week to all thrifty and deserving persons of 65 years of age and upwards who are unable to work, and in need of the same, and that such a scheme shall place no disability of citizenship upon the person claiming the pension, and that the cost of same shall be raised without interference with the funds of the thrift societies."

Though the position of the Friendly Societies upon this matter, as defined in the above resolution, is on points of detail somewhat different from the demand put forward by the Trade Unions and Co-operators, yet the passing of this resolution puts the Friendly Societies into line with the other two great democratic organisations on the broad principle of State Pensions for the Aged. In 1901, a conference representing 4,000,000 members of dividing Friendly Societies approved a non-contributory scheme of State Pensions.

The agitation carried on between 1899 and 1902 by the Labour organisations culminated in January, 1902, in a great National Conference of Trade Union and Co-operative Organisations, called by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, and the Committee of the Co-operative Union. This Conference was attended by 450 delegates, and after two days' discussion the following resolution was passed unanimously:

"That this Conference urges upon the Government the necessity of establishing a national system of Old Age Pensions, which shall be universal in its application to all citizens, male and female, on attaining the age of sixty years; the pension to be at the rate of at least 5s. per week, and the entire cost of such scheme be met entirely by means of Imperial taxation: that the Parliamentary Committees of the Trades Union Congress and the Co-operative Congress be requested to take such steps as may seem to them most desirable to work jointly in bringing the resolutions of this conference to the attention of the Government and the country generally, including the promotion of an Old Age Pension Bill in Parliament."

Meantime there had been formed the "National Committee of Organised Labour," the outcome of seven Conferences attended by Mr. Charles Booth with representatives of Trade Unions, Friendly, and Co-operative Societies. This National Committee, with Mr. Frederick Rogers as its Secretary, has carried on a widespread propaganda, and to its energetic efforts much of the present prominence of the question of Old Age Pensions is due.

One of the Election Mandates.

We have briefly sketched the history of the Old Age Pensions movement during the twelve years before the General Election of 1906. The agitation of these years had given such a prominence to the question, and had aroused so much public sympathy, that at the Election of 1906 this question was one which was by common consent regarded as "being ripe for legislation."

The new Parliament was soon given an opportunity to show a pious sympathy with the demand. On the 14th March, 1906, Mr. O'Grady, M.P., on behalf of the Labour Party moved the following resolution in the House of Commons:—

"That in the opinion of this House, a measure is urgently needed in order that out of funds provided by taxation provision can be made for the granting of a Pension to all the aged subjects of His Majesty in the United Kingdom."

Mr Asquith spoke for the Government, and in the course of his speech said, "on the broad grounds of principle on which this motion has been put forward, not only is there no reluctance on the part of the Government to accept it, but there is the strongest and keenest possible desire by every means we can find available and practicable to further the object in view." The body of his speech was devoted to pointing out that the financial position of the country was such as not to afford much hope of the money being available until great schemes of retrenchment had been carried out; and he concluded by saying, "I am sure the majority of the House while unanimously accepting this Resolution will not think that I am in any sense wanting in sympathy with its object or in an eager desire to bring it at the earliest moment into practical effect, if I say that I feel also that patience, and prudence and adjustment are necessary."

Every speech made in the debate was in support of the resolution. From no quarter of the House was one word of opposition to Old Age Pensions uttered. The resolution was finally carried without a division.

The passing of such a resolution had no practical effect, beyond registering a pious opinion. Members of Parliament who feel strongly the urgency of this matter, took steps to urge the Government to legislate in the next session, and with that object a deputation waited upon the Prime Minister, and Mr. Asquith, on the 20th November, 1906. Both Ministers were very sympathetic, the Premier saying he was "only prevented by limits of time and money from acceding to their requests." The chief value of this interview was that it drew from the Prime Minister and from Mr. Asquith declarations that they favoured a universal, non-contributory, non-inquisitorial plan. It was to this deputation that Mr. Asquith said, "nothing was nearer to his heart than that he should be able to submit to the House of Commons a financial plan by which provision should be made for the veterans of industry. He assured the deputation that the Government regarded the question as one of extreme urgency."

The King's Speech presented to Parliament at the opening of the Session of 1907 made no mention of Old Age Pensions. The Labour Party decided to put down an amendment, and this was done in the name of Mr. Barnes, M.P., in the following terms :—

"But we humbly express our regret that your Majesty's advisers have not seen fit to include amongst the measures promised for this session, one making provision of an adequate pension for the aged poor."

Twelve months before, Mr. O'Grady's motion was passed unanimously. It committed the Government to nothing. But Mr. Barnes's amendment, if passed, would have required the Government either to resign or to introduce into the King's

Speech a promise to deal with Old Age Pensions. The result was the amendment, on a division, was rejected by 213 votes against, to 61 for.

The Promise of Pensions.

Mr. Asquith made his second Budget statement on the 18th April, 1907. As so much has been made of the alleged promise in that speech to start a system of Old Age Pensions next year, it might be well to state what Mr. Asquith really did say. After stating that neither he, nor so far as he knew, any of his colleagues had ever given a pledge at the elections on the subject of Old Age Pensions, he went on to say:—

“Whatever is done in this matter must be done by steps and stages, and cannot be achieved at a single blow. But this I do say, and I wish to say it with all the emphasis of which I am capable, speaking for the whole of my colleagues who sit upon this Bench, that in the sphere of finance we regard this as the most serious and the most urgent of all the demands for social reform; and that it is our hope—I will say it is our intention before the close of this Parliament—yes, before the close of the next Session of this Parliament, if we are allowed to have our way—it is a large ‘if’—to lay firm the foundations of this reform.”

“The Nest Egg.”

Later on in the same speech Mr. Asquith indicated the sum of money he expected to have in hand the following year “to provide the nucleus of a fund for the relief of necessitous old age.” “I shall have in hand next year,” he said, “free and earmarked for the purpose, the £1,500,000 to which I have just referred, together with the uncollected arrears of this year’s income-tax amounting to £750,000, and which will make a total of at least £2,250,000, and an additional sum from the increased estate duties.” This then is the definite pledge of a responsible Minister—a promise to devote next year’s Budget surplus to a fund for Old Age Pensions. Later on we shall show that something more than this nucleus will be needed if the pensions are to be at all adequate.

The Case for Pensions.

Having briefly sketched the history of the movement for Old Age Pensions up to the present time, we now turn to another phase of our subject. Fortunately we need not, at any great length, argue the case for Old Age Pensions. The need and justice of such provision is now all but unanimously admitted. Differences of opinion there may still be on the details of the scheme, but Mr. Harold Cox, the “Liberal” member for Preston, and Sir Frederick Banbury, who represents the intelligence of the City of London, are practically alone in complete opposition.

But as the purpose of this tract is to support the demand for universal, non-contributory old age pensions of at least five shillings a week, it is our duty to state the case for such a scheme.

The Need for Pensions.

The demand for Old Age Pensions does not come from the

drunken, lazy, and thriftless who have wasted their opportunities, and spent their substance in riotous living. The Trade Unionists, the Co-operators, and the members of Friendly Societies are the most industrious, the most thrifty, and the best circumstanced of the working class. It is by these that the demand is most strongly made. These people have taken full advantage of all the agencies of thrift which are open to them. Their better wages and more regular employment, as skilled workmen and trade unionists, have enabled them to make some attempt at provision for sickness and old age, which workers in less fortunate positions are quite unable to do. Yet in spite of all their own efforts, they have to confess to failure; they have to admit that the problem of provision for old age is too big for voluntary effort to solve. How then can the vast mass of unskilled, badly paid, irregularly employed labour make provision for old age? The case for State Old Age Pensions is based on the fact that the general condition of the workers does not permit of themselves making provision for their old age; and that it is the duty of the State to make such provision in return for the life time of ill-requited work which the aged poor have rendered to the community.

A few facts may be given to justify the following statements:—

1. That the general condition of the wage-earning class is such as to render saving for old age difficult or impossible.
2. That within their means and opportunities the working classes generally exercise commendable thrift.

A knowledge of the economic condition of the wage-earning classes shows what a mockery it is to talk about everybody being able to provide for their own old age by the exercise of thrift.

In the first place the wage worker has no security of employment, nor certainty of permanence of residence. The fear of unemployment is ever before his eyes. All his conditions tend to breed an indifference as to the future. The hopelessness of effort discourages further effort. In view of his circumstances, the self-respect, the struggles for improvement, the efforts to provide for the future, among the working classes, are wonderful. In their circumstances they can only practise thrift by a self-denial which speaks eloquently of their desire to be self-respecting.

The results of the investigations of Mr. Charles Booth, Mr. Rowntree, and others, into the conditions of working-class life are well-known. Mr. Booth states that 30·7 per cent. of the whole population of London are on or below the poverty line of incomes not exceeding a guinea a week per family. Mr. Rowntree found that the average wage for a labourer in York is from 18/- to 21/-, whereas the minimum expenditure necessary to maintain in a state of physical efficiency a family of two adults and three children is 21/8. "The wages," he says, "paid for unskilled labour in York are insufficient to provide food, shelter, and clothing adequate to maintain a family of moderate size in a state of bare physical efficiency, no allowance being made for

any expenditure other than that absolutely required for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency."

How the Poor Live.

A sentence in Mr. Rowntree's book is so painfully true as a description of the lot of the unskilled workers, who are the majority of the wage-earning class, that we make no apology for reproducing it.

"Let us clearly understand what 'merely physical efficiency' means. A family living upon the scale allowed for in this estimate must never spend a penny on railway fare or omnibus. They must never go into the country unless they walk. They must never purchase a halfpenny newspaper, or spend a penny to buy a ticket for a popular concert. They must write no letters to absent children, for they cannot afford to pay the postage. They must never contribute anything to their church or chapel, or give any help to a neighbour which costs them money. They cannot save, nor can they join a sick club or trade union, because they cannot pay the necessary subscriptions. The father must smoke no tobacco, and must drink no beer. The mother must never buy any pretty clothes for herself or for her children. Should a child fall ill it must be attended by a parish doctor; should it die it must be buried by the parish. Finally, the wage-earner must never be absent from his work for a single day. If any of these conditions are broken, the extra expenditure involved is met, *and can only be met*, by limiting the diet; or in other words, by sacrificing physical efficiency."

The conditions in London and York are not exceptional, but typical. In an interesting publication by the Sociological Society, Mr. H. M. Mann gives the results of his investigations into the conditions in an agricultural village in Bedfordshire. Here he found 50 per cent. of the wage earning population in primary and secondary poverty. A man earning the average wage and the head of a household must descend below the "poverty line" so soon as he has two children, and there he will remain until the eldest child leaves school and begins to earn money. After that he will struggle with the debt accumulated during these years. By the time he is clear, his children will have left him; his own earning powers have declined; he sinks again into primary poverty. He has never had a chance to save. This is typical of the condition of the labourers throughout all rural England. The average wage of a labourer in the district in which the enquiries were made is 13s. 7½d.

From returns obtained from 8,121 Private and Government works, employing 862,365 persons it was found that the average weekly wage per head amounted to 18s. 5½d. These returns include the police and other public servants, but do not take any account of agricultural and general labourers.

A more recent return (C.D. 3,245 year 1906) gives the average wages throughout the Eastern, Southern and South Western counties of England of agricultural labourers as 13s. 10½d., exclusive of the value of allowances in kind which amount on the average to about 3/- a week in value.

Such facts as the above prove that it is the economic poverty of the mass of wage-workers which is responsible for their dependence in old age. Even the higher wages of the skilled workers do not leave a margin for saving, if the just and reasonable desires for comfort are to be satisfied. The statement

remains a fact, that no considerable section of the wage earning class can put by sufficient for old age except by practising a thrift which makes their lives a continual self-denying ordinance.

One in Two Paupers !

In the poverty of the workers we find then the explanation of the fact that so large a proportion of the aged have to come upon the Poor Law. In the Report of the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor issued in 1895, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Ritchie, Dr. Hunter, Mr. Chas. Booth and Sir H. Maxwell make the following statement :—

“In round figures, three in ten of the total population above 65 are compelled to apply for parish relief during the twelve months. The significance of these figures is increased when we remember that probably one-third of the population belong to the well-to-do classes, which do not furnish many additions to the list of paupers. If we deduct them from the calculation, the proportion of paupers over 65 to the total population over that age, and below the well-to-do, *will not be less than three out of seven or nearly one in two.* We are also impressed with the fact that there is, in addition to the number of actual paupers, large numbers of persons who are always just removed from pauperism, and who endure great privations in order to keep off the rates. We also agree that the imputation that old age pauperism is mainly due to drink, idleness, improvidence, and the like causes, applies to but a very small proportion of the working class population.”

Nearly one in two of the aged workers have to apply for parish relief ! In addition there are large numbers who endure great privations rather than submit to the ignominy of pauperism ! And is it not a fact within everybody's knowledge that there is another large class of the aged poor who are without means, but who are kept away from the poorhouse by the self-sacrifice of their children ? The Departmental Committee (1899) instituted a Test Census in regard to Incomes of Persons 65 years of age and upwards, and they state that of about 27 per cent. of the persons who declined to state their incomes, over two-thirds stated they were maintained by relations or friends. It should be remembered, too, that private charitable societies dispense £10,040,000 a year, of which sum £611,464 is derived from endowments applicable to pensions and alms houses.

Very few, therefore, of the wage-earning class succeed in the effort to provide for old age. Many of them during all their working lifetime are struggling to make such a provision. Their dependence is embittered by the knowledge of long years of unsuccessful effort. In 1890-91, out of 58,000 adult males of all ages in the workhouses, 14,808 had been members of benefit societies. A few figures relating to the funds accumulated by working-class institutions may be of service. They will give some idea of the efforts the wage-earners make to provide against misfortune.

Trade Union Benefits.

The figures relating to 100 of the principal Trade Unions show that in the ten years, 1895-1904, the following sums were disbursed for the several purposes indicated out of a total income of £19,010,000.

Unemployed Benefits	...	...	...	£3,585,000
Sick and Accident Benefits	...	...	...	£3,040,000
Superannuation	...	...	...	£1,868,000
Funeral Benefits	...	...	...	£872,000
Total Friendly Benefits				£9,365,000

The Co-operative Societies.

The returns made to the Registrar by the Co-operative Societies (Industrial and Provident) for the year 1904 give the following information :—

No. of Societies,	No. of Members.	Share Capital.
2,086.	2,195,000.	£28,254,716.

The Friendly Societies.

The particulars for 1904 of the membership and the funds of Friendly Societies were as follows :—

	No. of Members.	Funds.
Societies providing Sick Pay...	5,107,724	£40,488,728
Collecting and Benevolent Societies	5,826,420	£9,970,332
Grand Total	10,934,144	£50,459,060

Industrial Assurance Companies.

The total amount paid in premiums to the Industrial Assurance Companies in the ten years 1895-1904 amounted to the sum of £96,000,000. This is made up almost exclusively of small sums paid weekly by the industrial classes.

The Savings Banks.

The amount paid into the Post Office Savings Bank by depositors in the year 1905 was £42,300,617. The sum withdrawn during the same period was £42,096,037. It is interesting to contrast the two sums, which are practically equal in amount. The obvious deduction from the withdrawal figures is that the workers save when they have a run of fairly straight sailing, but misfortune, sickness, unemployment come and the savings are withdrawn. Little permanent reserve can be laid by.

The Case Proved.

The total of the foregoing figures are conclusive testimony to the willingness of and the extent to which the wage earners, out of inadequate means, make provision for times of misfortune. Nearly all they are able to save goes in meeting the expenses of sickness, of funerals, and of unemployment. The workers have done their best to provide for old age. They have failed because the task is impossible. The facts establish an indisputable case for State Pensions for the Aged.

The principle is too well established in practice to need arguing that where it is impossible for the individual to help himself it is the duty of the State to come to his assistance. The

aged poor have spent their lives in building up the wealth of the nation ; they have paid taxation out of all proportion to their means ; they have been denied delights and lived laborious days ministering to the ease and enjoyment of the few. They have an unanswerable claim upon the State for honourable maintenance.

What is done here and elsewhere.

The principle of State Pensions is admitted by precedent. For instance, Mr. Henry Chaplin, M.P., Sir John Gorst, Mr. Gerald Balfour and other ex-ministers are drawing pensions of £24 a week each. A recently published Blue Book (Cd. 3618) gives the following summary of the amount paid in pensions from taxes and rates in 1905 :—

	Number of Pensioners.		Total Pensions in one year.
Army, Navy and Civil Service Pensions ...	171,815	...	£7,903,369
Officers of Local Authorities (including Police) ...	33,186	...	£1,830,900
School Teachers ...	5,829	...	£171,333
Public Pensioners ...	210,830		£9,905,602

Many of the continental States have made provision for old age. Denmark has had what practically amounts to a system of universal old age pensions, in force since 1891. Certain conditions, as to character and residence, are imposed. When these are satisfied the applicant is entitled to a pension at the age of sixty. In Germany there is insurance for old age and permanent sickness. It is compulsory on all with incomes below £100. Premiums range from 1d. to 3d. per week. The pensions begin at 70. Belgium, France and Austria have partial and limited schemes in operation.

Our Colonial Examples.

We have to go to our Colonies to find a real system of Old Age Pensions. New Zealand, Victoria, and New South Wales have each Old Age Pensions in operation. The New Zealand law came into force on the 1st November, 1898. In 1900 an amending Act was passed. Every man and woman of 65 and over who can satisfy certain conditions may have a pension of 10/- a week. Persons earning £60 per annum cannot claim, and those owning property to the value of £260 are excluded. The systems in operation in Victoria and New South Wales are very similar. In Victoria the pension is 8/- and in New South Wales 10/- a week.

A Royal Commission recently enquired into the working of these Colonial systems, with the idea of adopting a system applicable to the whole of Australia. This Commission has reported, and it states that "it is desirable that a Commonwealth system of Old Age Pensions should be established at an early date." No better testimony to the success of the partial ex-

periments in New South Wales and Victoria could be desired. Where our Colonies have led in this matter it is now for the rich mother country to follow.

We now come to the practical question of ways and means. We are not proposing an ideal or final scheme, but one which may be realised at once in the present state of public opinion and political possibilities. We propose to proceed on the assumption that the minimum scheme which will be acceptable as a beginning, is a pension of not less than 5/- a week at 65.

What would this cost? *

The total number of persons aged 65 and upwards in 1907 being estimated at 2,116,000, the cost of granting a pension of 5/- a week to all persons of this age without distinction would at the outset amount for the United Kingdom to £27,508,000, apart from the cost of administration.

This would be the cost assuming that every person over 65—rich, poor, pauper, imbecile—claimed the pension.

The Limited Scheme.

On page 5 of this tract we summarise the recommendations of Mr. Chaplin's committee, and it will be convenient here to give the estimated cost of carrying out such a scheme.

Table based on the scheme of Mr. Chaplin's committee, shewing cost of immediate adoption:—

1907.		UNITED KINGDOM.	
Estimated number of persons over 65 in 1907	...	...	2,116,267
Deduct:—			
1. With Incomes over 10/-	...	...	778,283
2. For Paupers	...	...	541,682
3. For Aliens, Criminals and Lunatics	...	...	33,661
4. Thriftless	...	...	76,185
Total Deductions		...	1,429,811
Estimated number of Pensionable Persons	...	...	686,456
Estimated cost (including 3 per cent. for expenses)		£10,780,000	

Every representative working-class body rejects the discriminating character of this scheme, so with presenting a statement of the cost we may leave it.

Cost of Scheme.

We return to the cost of a universal scheme. Very considerable deductions must be made from the rough and ready way of multiplying the number of persons over 65 by £13. One-third, at least, of the persons over 65 are well-to-do, many exceedingly well off. Some of these would doubtless claim the pension, if only to add to the income of some poor friend or dependent. But allowing for those of the well-to-do who would take the pension, a very large deduction, not less than 500,000, might safely be made. Then, of the present public pensioners, many will be over 65, and would therefore be deducted.

* These figures and estimates are taken from Blue Book C.D. 3,618 year 1907. Price 5½d.

It is often assumed that a system of Old Age Pensions would enable very great savings to be made in the Poor Rate. This idea is fallacious. 'Enquiries' have shown that of the aged poor in the workhouses only 14 per cent. could take care of themselves, or were fit to live on a pension outside. Assuming that 10 per cent. were able and willing to leave the poorhouse to live with relatives outside, the number thus affected would be only 7,600, and the withdrawal of this number from the poorhouse would make little impression upon the cost of indoor pauperism.

Some saving would be made in the expenditure on outdoor relief. It is estimated that the sum now paid in this way to persons over 65 is £1,858,000 a year, and we might reasonably expect that Old Age Pensions would save this sum.

Deducting, therefore,

500,000 rich, who would not claim.
80,000 public pensioners, ($\frac{1}{3}$ as over 65).
70,000 indoor paupers.
34,000 criminals, aliens and lunatics.

Total	...	684,000
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the number of probable pensioners is reduced to 1,432,267. This is the utmost number which could reasonably be expected to claim under a universal scheme. The cost of this at £13 a year (5/- a week) would be £18,619,471, which with 3 per cent. added for cost of administration would bring the total cost to £19,000,000 (round figures).

How to Raise this Money.

The practical question now is, how to raise this sum at once. Mr. Asquith has a nucleus, "earmarked for the purpose," of £2,250,000. We need about £16,750,000 of new taxation.

The Tories, under the specious plea of broadening the basis of taxation, are working to shift taxation from incomes and estates on to the necessities of life. This means that the working classes are to pay for social reform, and the rich are to escape paying to help the victims of their exploitation. It is important to warn the wage-earners that Old Age Pensions can be of no benefit to them if they are to pay for them out of their scanty means, by indirect taxation.

The cost of Old Age Pensions must be met by a tax upon large incomes and enormous fortunes. In 1896-7 the gross amount of income brought under the review of the Inland Revenue was £704,741,608. In 1905-6, ten years later, it had risen to £925,184,556, an increase of £220,442,948. This increased income is paying less than £15,000,000 of increased taxation. The income tax paying class are over two hundred millions a year richer than they were ten years ago. This is the reason why the many are still poor. Last year ten millionaires died leaving £34,138,182. Their estates paid £2,731,000 to the State which had enabled them to amass these millions. They left £31,407,182 to their descendants, who will use this wealth they have never earned to continue to oppress the poor.

This is How to Do it.

A super tax at the following rates on incomes over £5,000 a year would realise the sum stated in the total.

Amount of Income.	No. of Persons.	Total Income.	Rate of Super Tax.	Amount of Revenue.
From £5,000 to £6,000 ...	6,000 ...	£38,000,000 ...	6d. ...	£950,000
„ £6,000 to £10,000 ...	5,000 ...	£40,000,000 ...	1/- ...	£2,000,000
„ £10,000 to £20,000 ...	3,500 ...	£45,000,000 ...	1/6 ...	£3,375,000
„ £20,000 to £40,000 ...	1,100 ...	£30,000,000 ...	2/- ...	£3,000,000
Over £40,000 a year ...	400 ...	£30,000,000 ...	3/- ...	£4,500,000
Total Yield ...				<u>£13,825,000</u>

An increase in the tax upon the big fortunes will provide the remainder of the needed sum, namely, £3,000,000. Mr. Asquith in his last Budget raised the rate upon estates of from £750,000 to £1,000,000, from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 per cent., and upon the multi-millionaire from 8 per cent. to 15 per cent. With this as a precedent we can hardly be charged with extravagance if we suggest a further five per cent. increase on all estates over one million in value, and one per cent. increase in the rates upon estates between £10,000 and £1,000,000. On the average of the value of the estates paying duties in the last seven years, these increases would bring in the balance we need, namely, £3,000,000.

Here is a scheme for raising the money in the very next financial year. There is only one answer possible to the demand that Old Age Pensions of 5s. a week at 65 shall be given now. A refusal to grant these pensions *now* is an admission that the Chancellor has more consideration for the pockets of the millionaires than for the miseries of the aged poor.

Delay will not make the task easier. Waiting will not bring to light some hidden mine of wealth which can be used without burdening a living soul. The way we have suggested for raising the money is the only way. Either that, or no Old Age Pensions.

The Labour Party have made this question one of the two for which they are going to fight for all they are worth next session. The outcome of their efforts will depend largely on the amount of support they get from the public. There is a general desire in the country for this reform. To be effective, it must be expressed. Every sympathiser can give valuable help. Let each man and woman urge the local member by letter or by personal interview to press this subject upon the Government. Let all sorts of bodies and societies pass resolutions demanding Old Age Pensions *now*. Bombard the Chancellor of the Exchequer with them. Let the agitation be strong and determined in the country; and if this be done there is reason to hope that this far-too-long delayed measure of justice to those who have borne the heat and burden of the day, will be conceded, and joy brought to the hearts and homes of millions of our deserving people.

WOMAN ———

The COMMUNIST.

By T. D. Benson.



**Price
One
Penny.**

**PUBLISHED BY THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY,
23, BRIDE LANE, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.**

Woman—the Communist.

THERE is much in science to-day which is mere theory and guess work and in no department of science is there more theorising than in that of the early history of mankind. As an instance of how small a discovery can upset whole departments of science, we may take the recent discovery of radium. Previous to its discovery, it was certain that the sun was losing its heat, which could only be maintained by the falling in of worlds for its consumption. It was equally certain that the earth was becoming so cold that in measureable time it would be uninhabitable and serve only as fuel for the sun. This cooling process of the earth limited its habitable age in the past and decided its mission in the future. Now it is stated that there is sufficient radium in the sun and in the earth to enable them to maintain their present temperature practically to all eternity. This discovery destroys at once the necessity for the cataclysmic theory of the universe. We have now, so far as mankind are concerned, an eternity in the future for our dreams and an eternity in the past for our theories. I would by this example point out that science is not, as yet, infallible, and that if it can be so fallible in departments where it has been so sure, it may be equally wrong in statements which are still admitted to be but theories. I refer to the early history of mankind. More particularly as a socialist do I demur to the condemnation of those early ages of man as states of pure barbarism, those times when communism was the system of society and private property* was unknown. So far history has been written by those who believe that private property is the rock from which humanity has risen to higher things, as though humanity could rise on the subjection and prostitution of women and the enslavement and martyrdom of men. As a socialist I believe to the contrary, that the desire for power and wealth has been

“The fruit
Of that forbidden tree whose mortal taste brought death into
the world
And all our woes.”

Instead of being the rock on which man has risen, I believe it to be rather that Tower of Babel, which divided man into men and which instead of soaring upwards towards high heaven touched the deep hell of child slavery in the nineteenth century. Humanity cannot rise on stepping stones of inhumanity to higher things and nobler states.

* By private property is meant the private ownership of the means by which others have to live, such as land and machinery, etc.

THE BOOK OF NATURE.

Nature has fortunately a valuable habit of writing her own history, which men are but beginning to spell out and read. In this book of nature, nothing is too great for her to inscribe, nothing too minute for her to note. She records there equally the overwhelming of the world by ice, and the footprints of a bird, thousands, perhaps millions, of years after it lived on earth. On each frail human form she prints the past history of mankind and we have the long ages of man's evolution recorded and recapitulated in the nine months' life of the foetus before birth. We see there the various stages repeated, through which life made its way upwards and onwards, growing ever more and more complex, the stage of the fish, amphibian, reptile and mammal. Like fossils in the rocks these early stages of man's career are preserved for us to see and in seeing learn to read and understand. "Science," says Mr. Bagehot,* "tries to read, is beginning to read in the frame of each man, the results of the whole history of all his life, of what he is and what makes him so, of all his forefathers, of what they were and what made them so, . . . if we could but see it."

Nature, however, does not cease inscribing her records on man when he is born, but on the frame of each one of us after our entrance into the world she has impressed the history of mankind. These later records, however, are not fully explored and when noted are not understood. We see and understand the facts of the evolution of man as contained in the foetus, but the equally valuable records of men after they have emerged from the animal stage into the human, have so far received but scant attention. Yet these early records written in the human frame are full of interest, for they tell the story of primitive man before the historical civilizations arose, they tell the story, which is still recorded in the myths and legends of the early peoples, of an age before the lust of power got hold of men and demoralized them, of a time of communism and peace and fruitfulness.

In the body of the child during the first three years of life are preserved nature's records of these early ages. From this age onwards, on men there is also written the story of the loss of this earthly paradise. "The human infant," Mr. Havelock Ellis states,† "presents in an exaggerated form the distinctive characteristics of humanity, in the large head and brain, the small face, hairlessness and delicate bony system. By some strange confusion of thought we usually ignore this fact and assume that the adult form is more highly developed than the infantile form. In man from the third year onwards further growth . . . is to some extent growth in degeneration and senility." These first three years of high development, as we shall see, are a fact of immense importance to women and to socialists generally. They have so far been generally ignored by writers on anthropology. If the nine months' epitome of the creation of man in the foetus be the

* "Physics and Politics."

† "Man and Woman."

recapitulation of the pre-human life on earth, then these first three years after birth record no less definitely a stage of high human development where peace and plenty reigned, when the animal passions were in subjection as in the animal kingdom, and bloodshed and strife and wars were unknown, of an age when humanity attained a higher level of genius than it has ever attained since. It was no mere ephemeral epoch when man's first innocence quickly passed, for if nature can condense the long period of man's evolution into the nine months' life of the foetus, then the period that requires three years for its recapitulation must be infinitely greater.

THE GOLDEN AGE.

In confirmation of this strange revelation by nature we have, in all the great civilizations of the world, curious myths and legends of a golden age of mankind, when the earth brought forth its fruits spontaneously, an age of happiness and innocence, free from calamities, crimes and diseases, an age of communism and fraternity. These myths and legends, taken in conjunction with the impress of such an age left on each one of us by nature, render it highly probable that the golden age is no mere fancy of the poet, but an actual reminiscence of the facts of social life in its primitive organisation of village and house communities.

So far, we have no history of mankind written from the socialistic standpoint. Such historian would point out that the records of all civilizations are but the history of mankind since the early communism was broken up, since the lust of power and possession entered in and destroyed primitive society. The history of all civilizations is but the history of individualism, when man separated himself from his fellow-men, when each for himself became the guiding principle of conduct, when equality gave way to princes, principalities, and powers, and fraternity ended in slavery. "It is just here," says Sir Henry Maine,* "that archaic law renders us one of its greatest services. It is full, in all its provinces, of the clearest indications that society in primitive times, was not what it is assumed to be at present—a collection of individuals. In fact, and in the view of men who composed it, it was an aggregation of families." Even here, when law began,—and law only begins with private possessions,—mankind had not yet been separated into individuals, but only into families. When our historians seek, to-day, to discover what our early parents were like, they search out the most debased and bestial tribe, and point in pride to it as the beginnings of the human race. If the records of the first three years of our childhood have a meaning at all, they prove that this debased tribe does not represent the beginnings of man's evolution, but the end of a long period of degeneration and decay. Darwin points out that the licentiousness imputed to savages, points to a period when man had retrograded in his instincts. Man, to-day, after thousands of years of civilization shows no

* "Ancient Law."

higher type than those skeletons of primitive man, which have been discovered in the Diluvial period. "All those human beings," says Dr. Moriz Hoernes,* "of whom we are in a position to form an opinion, were well formed men, who, judging from their physical structure, could have mixed with us to-day, without being in any way conspicuous. They had no simian racial indications, their skulls were no smaller, and their face had no animal formation. They were fully developed in every way." Whether these skeletons and skulls of early man show a higher development is not recorded, but in any case, this is not the result that we should obtain if civilization produced a higher human type. The knowledge we now possess emphasizes the fact that the foundations on which civilizations have been erected will not permanently sustain them, will only permit them to reach a certain height, and then they perish from their own inherent weakness.

We find each civilization starting fresh from the hearts and minds of a semi-communistic people, full of the energy and virility of a moral race, but as the concentration of power and property into ever fewer and fewer hands proceeds apace, luxury enervates the race at the top, and slavery at the base, till it passes as others before it. It is stated that when the Babylonian civilization perished 2 per cent of her population owned all the wealth; when the Egyptian passed 2 per cent owned 97 per cent of the wealth, and that when Rome perished 2,000 people owned all the Roman world.

This view of man's decadence is strongly emphasized by Mr. E. Carpenter.† "With the advent of a civilization founded on property, the unity of the old tribal society is broken up. The ties of blood relationship which were the foundation of the gentile system, and the guarantee of the old fraternity and equality, became dissolved in favour of powers and authorities founded on mere possession. The growth of wealth disintegrates the ancient society, the temptations of power of possession, etc., which accompany it, wrench the individual from his moorings, personal greed rules, each man for himself becomes the universal motto, the hand of every man is raised against his brother, and at last society becomes an organisation by which the rich fatten upon the vitals of the poor, the strong upon the labour of the weak." Civilization, indeed, from its beginning, has been but the cult of power, and the worship of wealth. Letourneau takes the same view of the disintegrating effects of private ownership. "In fact," he says, "in all civilized societies which have preceded our own, the absolute supremacy of the unrestrained and selfish rights of private property has been the forerunner of decadence, the main cause of ruin."‡

WOMAN.

Woman could play but a very minor part in this struggle for possession of property and power. In fact, like all the

* "Primitive Man." † "Civilisation—Its Cause and Cure."

‡ "Evolution of Private Property."

weaker members of the race, she succumbed, and became subject to her stronger mate. "She was," says Bebel, "the first human being that tasted bondage, was a slave before the slave existed." From that early time to the present, the mothers of the race have been shut out from the strife of the world, its victims always, but rarely, if ever, its partners. This curious fact is not omitted by nature from her wonderful book. Whilst the history of the degeneration of the race is strongly impressed on the male child from the third year onwards, when, as Wordsworth says :

"Shades of the prison house begin to close

Upon the growing boy,"

woman, strangely enough, bears but few traces of this degeneration. She, through life retains those high human attributes that the child possesses. "When we have realised the position of the child in relation to evolution, we can take a clearer view of the natural position of woman. She bears the natural characteristics of humanity in a higher degree than man, simply because she is nearer the child. Her conservatism is thus compensated for and justified by the fact that she represents more nearly than man the human type to which man is approximating."*

Not only, however, does woman still bear the impress on her form of a golden age, and embody the high characteristics that raised it in human dignity above all succeeding ages, but she represents, along with the child, the type toward which the human race is now tending. Thus Dr. Chamberlain† states, "That the child, the woman, the best types of men of genius, and the best types of men in civilized society (cities especially), where the arts of peace outweigh the arts of war, and where industrialism has sustained the amelioration of toil due to modern invention, are the best representatives of the race type, the promise, in one way or another, of the man to be, is a view held by many authorities. Moreover," he continues, "women possess those child-like characters which the highest geniuses of the most intellectual races of mankind exhibit in all ages." "The female type," says Dr. Talbot,‡ from the standpoint of nervous and bodily development, most nearly approaches the promise of child type." Physiology thus agrees with the poet who says that "Woman is not undeveloped man," and caustically adds what the poet never thought, because man is a degenerate from that high human type of which woman is emblematic, the type towards which all that is best and noblest in the male sex is approximating.

This is a curious and unexpected revelation in the book of nature which shocks our sense of masculine superiority, but one which no amount of explanation will explain away. Yet it is one which is exceedingly comforting to the Socialist, when we see the explanation. As we have already seen, civilization has always been founded on power and possession. These necessitate constant war and turmoil, either to hold or to increase, even in the

* Havelock Ellis' "Man and Woman." † "The Child."

‡ "Degeneracy, its causes, etc."

more intellectual competition of to-day. Competition between individuals and wars for trade, markets, mines, bonds, etc., are still the mainsprings of the civilization of the twentieth century, and the font of its inspiration and imperialism. They produced a system of society alien to woman's nature, in which she was unable to play her part. Being enslaved by the male in all ages, and even when not absolutely enslaved, yet out of harmony with her surroundings, she has been shut up in the home, secluded from the world. Here, in a small communistic settlement of her own, in an environment akin to her nature, woman has lived countless ages, and the high human type has been continued, for "perfect environment gives eternal life." Family life has been the nearest approach to those primitive ages before man fell, and the home has been, as Professor Drummond says, as between mother and child "a secluded shrine where the culture of everything holy and beautiful was carried on."

Undoubtedly, woman, in continuing the communism of the first ages in the home, has rescued man from absolute degeneration, and has been the salvation of the race. "To woman," says Reclus, "mankind owes all that has made us men." She will be the most potent factor in the coming socialistic state in helping man to regain those high human attributes of which she is the modern representative, "Abundant evidence" says Dr. Chamberlain, "is now forthcoming that the child and the woman, which in the best sense is nearest him physically and mentally, are the real bearers of the evolution of the race. Not soulless, as some ancient theologians and some savage tribes have believed, but bearing the soul of the race, woman the surrogate of the child, has been shaping man physically and mentally in her image, as the man of genius (not the insane genius), and the typical urban adult (not the weakling or the degenerate) demonstrate. The future humanity lies more with woman than with man, and the child is full of its prophecy." The curious part of the references of these physiologists to the high human type of woman and child is, that no explanation is forthcoming of its presence in these two. Do coming events indeed cast their shadows before in this manner? It is curious that this high development of the child should be "prophetic" of that which is to come. No theologian has, so far, ventured to suggest that fossils are "prophetic" of the time when they shall be created. The book of nature does not record dreams of the future, but facts of the past. Fossils are records of what has been. So the child recapitulates a stage in human history that has been. The degeneracy of the man also records a stage that has been and still is. The man will regain his fallen greatness as he gradually moulds his social system to conformity with that environment which has preserved in the frame of woman the early achievements of the race, the communistic life of the family.

CIVILIZATION AND COMMUNISM.

It is often urged that socialism will be a return to the

barbaric communism of primitive man. Of this primal communism we know nothing; a high human development does not depend on mechanical science nor do its achievements necessarily leave permanent marks on the earth. The highest culture and greatest intellectual achievements are compatible with a simple life. Many of us think that our civilization, notwithstanding its inventions and instruments, shows a very low human development, that in fact it is inhuman except to property* and its owners. If we make nature the arbiter, she seems to select primitive communism as productive of the higher type. Physiology holds up the child as the record of a first stage of high human development and the degenerate form of man as representative of the loss of this state in civilization. Nature again presents us with woman, the present type of the old communism, with her greater powers of love and sympathy, finer instincts, swifter perceptions and deeper intuitions than man. Comparative anatomy finally proves the high type of woman and child, in the approximation to them of the man of genius, the atavist, and of the more cultured types of men generally.

As against nature's declaration in favour of communism, what has civilization to show in the uplifting of mankind. True there are great engineering works, wonderful mechanical inventions, many scientific discoveries, marvellous instruments for slaughtering each other, wealth beyond compare. But its benefits for mankind at large, in this as in all previous civilizations, are still in the future, unrealized dreams as yet. There is no wealth but life, and civilization here is poor indeed. It presents us to-day, as in former times, with an enslaved, starving people, a slaughter of the innocents unsurpassed in any age by the most barbarous tribes, prostitution and the subjection of women, Chicago stock yards, a few cultured people, few indeed compared with the mass, a wonderful organisation of society with its police, its armies and navies, organised not for the protection of life but for the greater security of power and property. Truly the achievements of civilization cannot be found in the development of human life nor in the uplifting of mankind, but founded ever on the martyrdom of men and the sacrifice of their bodies and souls, every civilization has so far been a curse and a burden to that vast majority whose shoulders have had to bear its weight.

WOMAN IN PRIMITIVE TIMES.

It is a curious and suggestive fact after what has been stated to find that the position of woman at the dawn of history was higher than it is to-day or has been in any succeeding age. We should naturally expect this to be the case, for the harmony between her nature and the earliest civilizations had not become so completely estranged as in later times. In Egypt where written records give us some idea of their life, we find that women were nearly the equals of men. They were not then

* Note the current phrase "the rights of capital."

secluded in a harem, but sat at meals with the husband, father, brothers; they had equal rights before the law, which to-day they have not. They served in the priesthood and ascended the throne. The earliest deities of the human race bear testimony to woman's position, for they were equally male and female. Juno was to women what Jupiter was to men, and women performed the holiest rites of religion. Diodorus points out that the queen received more power and respect than the king in Egypt. Among private individuals, he says, women rule over men and it was stipulated between married partners that the man should obey the woman. She was often richer than the man, and was responsible for the maintenance of her parents, showing that she, rather than the sons, had the wealth. The right of inheritance was through the mother, and not as to-day through the father. Letourneau states that "Uterine affiliation continued in unchanging Egypt down to the Ptolemies, and, placing the woman in the position of an heiress, secured to her many privileges." It was late in Egyptian history that the power of woman to hold property was taken from her and not till the glory of the old civilization had waned.

In the historic clans of Greece maternal affiliation was first established, the paternal family followed the maternal. This descent of wealth through the woman was of infinite value to her, it saved her from enslavement when nothing else could do. Letourneau points out, "Upon the whole, in every country and in every time, woman, organically weaker than man, has been more or less enslaved by him, unless in some case where legislation has permitted her to use an artificial force to serve her as a shield. This fictitious force before which virile brutality has lowered its flag has been money, wherever the laws have permitted women to raise themselves to the dignity of proprietors." Economic independence was the factor which saved women in the past from entire enslavement. Economic independence is the factor which socialists propound to-day to the workers of the world as their only salvation. In this way the problem of the worker is the problem of the woman and the solution of the one is the solution of the other.

Under the Roman civilization, women who had money attained great liberty, greater than they have ever enjoyed since. According to Mr. Lecky "they had been at first in a condition of absolute subjection or subordination to their relatives. They arrived during the Empire at a point of freedom and dignity which they subsequently lost and never altogether regained. . . . With the exception of the dowry which passed into the hands of the husband, she held property in her own right. A very considerable portion of Roman wealth thus passed into the uncontrolled possession of woman. A complete revolution passed over the constitution of the family. Instead of being constituted on the principle of autocracy, it was constructed on the principle of co-equal partnership. The legal position of the

* "Greek View of Life."

wife had become one of complete independence while her social position was one of great dignity." Once again we see it was the slavish adulation of wealth by the male which secured woman her freedom. It would, however, be but a small fraction of womankind to whom this liberty was accorded, for the possessors of wealth are always few in number.

^{HYDORON} If we look briefly at the relations between the sexes before the fight for wealth had completely enslaved woman, we find them on an infinitely higher plane than they subsequently became or even are to-day. "We might conclude," says Mr. Dickenson,* "if we had only Homer to give us our Greek view of life, that they had a conception of woman and of her relations to man, finer and nobler in some respects than that of modern times. But in fact the Homeric poems represent a civilization which had passed away." Thus once again we find a decadence from the early ages of man. Mr. Lecky confirms this view—"It may be fearlessly asserted that the types of female excellence which are contained in the Greek poems while they are among the earliest, are also among the most perfect in the literature of mankind." Luxury and power in those early times had not yet coarsened the finer instincts of men nor forced woman to withdraw into her innermost nature the power to love, which even to-day can rarely be the guide to the altar.

WOMAN UNDER CHRISTIANITY.

It is, however, in the Christian era that the subjection of woman became complete, notwithstanding that Christ's teaching destroys all mastership and authority. Christianity at the outset was a communistic fraternity. Men and women were equal and held all things in common. The influence of women was paramount in the great work of the conversion of the Roman Empire. "In no other movement of thought was it so powerful or so acknowledged. In the ages of persecution female figures occupy many of the foremost places in the ranks of martyrdom."* Christian communism did not last long, and was succeeded by Christian theology, under which Christ's teaching and women still suffer. So disastrous have been the effects of theology on woman, that Sir H. Maine states,† "No society which preserves any trace of Christian institution is likely to restore to married women the personal liberty conferred on them by the Roman law." In its first conflict with the pagan religions of Europe, the Christian church was forced to bow down to their customs and adopt most of their ceremonials and rites, feasts, and gods (under Christian names). We find, consequently, that women ministered in the church in its early years, and the goddesses, Kybele, Aphrodite, Venus, Edda, and Freya, re-appeared in the image of the Virgin Mary. As the control of the church increased over the minds of men, the female officials of the church were gradually excluded. The Council of Laodicea in A.D. 365 forbade the ordination of women to the

* Lecky "History of European Morals." † "Ancient Law."

ministry, and again in 824 the same Council complains that women still serve at the altar, and even give the communion.

The whole tendency of the church in its worship of asceticism was against the woman. Led, at first, by a justifiable revolt against the loose morality of the Roman world, and then by a passion of asceticism, woman became the representative of all that was evil and vile. Virginity alone was holy, marriage was debased. Poor Eve was the cause of man's fall, and her descendents became the recipients of all the invective that the Fathers of the Church could hurl at her. "Woman," says Mr. Lecky, "was represented as the door of hell, and the mother of all human ills. She should be ashamed of the very thought that she is a woman. She should live in perpetual penance on account of the curses she has brought upon the world. Women were even forbidden by a provincial council in the 6th century, on account of their impurity, to receive the Eucharist in their naked hands." She was thus reduced in the eyes of the Church to the same low level that she occupied in Mohammedan countries, where the law forbids pigs, dogs, women, and other impure animals to enter a mosque. In the Decalogue we find that the neighbour's house is worthy of a command to itself, but in the reference to the neighbour's wife, we find her classed with the horse and the ass, and other details. The Ten Commandments themselves are addressed to men, women evidently being unworthy of notice.

Chivalry and the troubadours, and the cult of the Virgin Mary somewhat raised woman's status in the middle ages, but it was rather the worship of her sex than the recognition of her equality. We have in Grimm's *Household Tales*, a fair picture of the new view of woman. St. Bernard once went into a cathedral to pay his devotions to the image of the Virgin Mary. He fell thrice on his knees before it, and, full of fervour, uttered the words "O gracious, mild, and highly favoured mother of God!" Hereupon the image began to speak, and said, "Welcome, my St. Bernard!" But the saint, who was displeased by this, reproached the queen of heaven for speaking, in these words. "Silence! no woman may speak in this congregation." This is a fair sample of the worship of woman during the middle ages, which, whilst pretending to worship her, denied her rationality, or as Havelock Ellis caustically sums it up, regarded her as a cross between an idiot and an angel.

The Reformation finally closed all avenues to woman's freedom. Previously, she had a career as abbess or nun open to her. With the Reformation, she was shut up in the home more completely than ever before, her one escape being marriage. Even here, it was not the fault of Luther that polygamy was not added to the other crimes against woman. It is said that Melancthon urged Henry VIII to take another wife rather than divorce the wife he had. It was Luther, who with six others, gave permission to the German Elector Philip, Landgraf of Hesse Cassel, to marry a second wife, his first wife being still alive.

It was more the action of the civil authorities than of the Church that spared woman that crowning degradation in our civilization. Her position gradually sank lower, till she was unable to hold property, could not even demand the wages that she had earned; they belonged to her liege lord and master and could be demanded from her employer by him. Of the present view of the Church on woman, we may take Canon Knox Little as the spokesman. "Wifehood," he says, "is the crowning glory of a woman. In it she is bound for all time. To her husband she owes the duty of unqualified obedience. There is no crime a man can commit, which justifies his wife in leaving him. It is her duty to subject herself to him always, and no crime that he can commit can justify her lack of obedience." Even this year, in Anglesey, we have seen the priest ordering the woman out of church because her head is not covered, that Eastern sign of subjection.

EMANCIPATION.

It was not until the nineteenth century that there arose the possibility that the long subjection of woman was drawing to a close. The invention of the steam engine and machinery lightened labour, and reduced in industry the inequality between man and woman. The greed of the capitalist at once seized the woman and the child as cheaper instruments of production than men. Competition forced woman from the home, and brought her out into the open. It was a curious counter revolution. It was the lust of wealth and power, which, in the first instance, produced a system of society in which woman had no share, and which consequently confined her to the home. It was the lust of wealth which seized her again, and forced her into line with men. Morgan states that the failure of classic civilization was due to its failure to develop woman. What will be the effect on our civilization of this sudden development of woman? Already, there is practically no sphere of work that woman has not entered, or will not enter soon. So far, this has been largely from necessity, and marriage is still looked upon by most women as a means of escape from the necessity of earning their own living. This arises mainly, I believe, from the bad conditions and low wages of woman's work. Necessity, however, often starts a fashion. It is becoming customary among women of all classes, whether forced by economic conditions or not, to enter some profession or undertake public work of some kind or other. The desire to escape from the monotony of home life, now that all the home industries have been taken over as public businesses, is a factor of great strength in this change. The increasing opportunities in public life for women, are helpful in preventing the rising generation of women becoming mere pleasure seekers and parasites. It may be taken for granted that in the future, for one reason or other, women will take part equally with men in shaping the destinies of the race.

On the other hand, whilst woman is being compelled to forsake the home and become once again a part of our public

life, there is a rapid growth in society of a sphere harmonious to woman's nature, a preparation as it were for her reception, into which she can enter without violating the fundamental principles of her nature. In looking around us, we find that society has ceased to be composed of individuals, or even of families. The individuals of the nations are being gathered into groups with similar interests, co-operative, and often, to a great degree, communistic. When a move is made in any given direction, it no longer consists of single persons, but of masses of men, of tens of thousands, as witness the growth of the Labour Party. In every direction we see society being welded into huge aggregations, and these again uniting into one composite whole. There is a unification of interests proceeding, which promises soon to make the interests of the people as homogeneous as are the interests of the members of one family. At the same time, there is growing a sense of communal responsibility for the weaker members of the community, the feeding of school children, provision of work for the unemployed, a humanising of the poor-law system, old age pensions, etc. There are also numerous free communistic services arising, free education, free libraries, art galleries, parks, baths, museums, and many more. We see, in fact, a growth in society of the ethics of the family in every direction.

The two greatest movements of the nineteenth century have been the preparation for the reception of woman by the growth of socialism, and the emancipation of woman herself.

Is it a mere chance coincidence that they should be simultaneous in their public appearance? Is it not rather a natural sequence that, as industry prepares a socialistic environment, woman, the survivor of the old communism, should enter in and take possession, as of her kingdom, by right. It is but another instance of the truth of Darwin's doctrine of the survival of the fittest. A change takes place in the environment, and immediately, a different flora and fauna are produced, the more harmonious at once enter in and possess. Woman has not yet grasped the idea that her entrance into public life is permanent, and not merely an episode in her career that will soon pass. She will, however, realise it before long, and is even now demanding those rights which her services to society entitle her, and which men shrinkingly withhold.

ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN.

Some socialists are apt to look askance at this demand of women and consider her a conservative force which is to be feared by them rather than welcomed, but still admitted to equal rights, because justice demands. The conservatism of woman is, however, not the conservatism of man, of individualism; it is rather the conservatism of the old communistic spirit which will find, in the individualism of the day, nothing that appeals to it. The conservatism of woman will be a revolutionary force in a society still founded on individualism, competition and private property, a combination which has secluded woman in the home,

shut her out from life, and subjected her to degradation unmentionable. "This organic conservatism," says Mr. Havelock Ellis, "may often involve political revolution. Socialism and nihilism are not usually regarded by politicians as conservative movements, but from the organic point of view, they may be truly conservative, and as is well known, these movements have powerfully appealed to women. The establishment of Christianity, the most revolutionary movement that has ever been seen in Europe, was, to a considerable extent, furthered by women." Women take part naturally in any revolution which is meant to overthrow our man-made civilization, and it would be hard to name a revolution in which women have not played their part. We need only think of the women martyrs in the Russian revolution of to-day, their heroism and self-sacrifice.

In granting the franchise to women, we now see that it is no mere extension, in kind, of the voters' list, it is the introduction into our national life of an entirely new element. The increase in the electorate by manhood suffrage would be an act of justice which must, sooner or later, be granted. It excites little discussion, and less enthusiasm. Its only effect would be to increase the already overwhelming working-class vote. The enfranchisement of women, on the other hand, would be the introduction of a force which will greatly strengthen the humanitarian movements of the day. "Woman," says Darwin, "seems to differ from man in mental disposition, chiefly in greater tenderness and less selfishness Woman, owing to her maternal instincts, displays these qualities towards her infants in an eminent degree; therefore, it is likely that she should often extend them towards her fellow creatures." Let us not forget that the communism of women is fundamental, and that in leaving the home for public life, she will carry it with her till it embraces the nation, if not the race. She will insist that the ethics of home shall be the ethics of public life, and the morality of man not lower than the morality of woman. The entrance of this communistic force into a semi-communistic society will quickly bear fruit. Society still retains the two elements antagonistic to woman's freedom, competition and private property. Both are nearing their end, and the influence of woman can but have the effect of limiting their last stages and intensifying the rate of progress towards a complete communism.

It is not, however, likely that woman will follow men in their arduous task of building up a collectivist state founded on a profound study of economics with its formulæ of nationalisation and municipalisation of every thing, and its herculean task of converting the mass of the people. Such a method is alien to her nature, and would, indeed, be as likely to land us into a sterile state-capitalism as into a communistic society. Women, as is their nature, will go straight to the heart of things—the immediate formation of a communistic state—with that sure instinct and intuition which, according to Darwin, are more strongly developed in woman than in man. She will force a rapid extension of the free services in every direction, especially

for weakness and necessity. In building up the new commonwealth, men need the quick perception, ready help and keen sympathy of women. Man has, so far, built up his social systems on a foundation of brute strength, from which woman has been excluded, and they have been a mere replica of man himself. But, in the new civilization that is arising to-day, there must be no suggestion of the exclusion of woman, but a true comradeship, not waiting till we have reached the promised land, but, together, moulding and shaping the destinies of the race. The society of the future must be no mere representative of the man, nor of the woman, but of both. It must include the love and intuition of the woman, and the genius and strength of the man.

MARRIAGE.

Whilst the advent of woman will intensify the trend towards socialism, she stands to gain much from the growth of a socialist state. It has been the economic independence of the fortunate few which has saved women in the past from absolute subjection. There is but one system of society which can guarantee to every woman absolute freedom from dependence on another for home and maintenance, and that is the socialistic state. Under communism alone will each one's independence be guaranteed. In all ages, woman has been obliged to rely upon the husband during her times of weakness, during the period of maternity. The enslavement of man and the subjection of woman in all ages show that no human being can be trusted with this great power over another. No circumstance will intensify the revolt of the wife against the power of the purse in the husband more than the growing economic independence of the girl before marriage. Having once tasted the forbidden fruit of freedom, she will unwillingly enough become dependent on her husband for every penny she requires. Once the way of escape to independence through socialism is seen by her, there will be no more ardent exponent of, nor enthusiastic worker for, the coming state.

Among the free communistic services already referred to, the right of the wife to maintenance during the period of maternity will quickly find a place. The special service for which her maintenance will be secured to her by the community can only be decided by experience. She must find her real sphere and function by the widest liberty and utmost freedom of choice, neither protected in one vocation nor forced into another. Nature alone can determine her contribution to the community.

This dependence of the wife on the husband is no more beneficial to the husband than to the wife. It has produced a marriage system which is aptly described as monogamy tempered by prostitution. The power of the purse gives a moral license against which woman is powerless to make an effective protest. If at the present moment it were possible to secure to every married woman maintenance for herself and children, we should quickly see either a wilderness of homeless husbands or such a moral reform in men that the doors of the public house and the

brothel would be closed for evermore. Charles Kingsley stated there would never be moral equity between the sexes till there was civic equality. In this he was wrong. Civic equality will give equality before the law, but it will not give moral equality in the home. Nothing can do that but the economic independence of the wife. It has been a strong defence in every age, which has permitted woman to hold property. Economic freedom is the basic freedom from which all liberty arises, whether it be social, moral, religious, political, or industrial.

When men and women stand forth free under communism, each meeting the other on terms of the most perfect equality, every trace of the present mercenary motives in marriage will disappear. The present marriage system, founded more on the legal bond than on affection, cannot be claimed by any one as a success. In the holiest of all relationships the legal bond is to-day considered the more important factor, and is the natural effort of the State to regulate marriage founded on the subjection of woman. With the growth of independence in women, the number of divorces is increasing rapidly, testifying to the unsatisfactory nature of so many marriages. The complete economic independence of women will, however, solve the question by enabling them to consult their feelings rather than their material interests in marriage. Will and affection will prove far more stable bonds than have the legal, but they can only be established on a foundation of co-equal partnership. Under communism will and affection will be supreme and legal registration but a subordinate matter like the registration of the birth of a child. Love and marriage will largely be in the hands of woman in the future, for she possesses greater powers of intuition than men and her maternal duties give greater powers of love. As both these functions will be exercised absolutely free from every trace of subordination to and financial dependence on man, marriage will be infinitely holier and more permanent than it is to-day. Under such a marriage system only, founded on affection and equality, will the sexes be able to attain that ideal state of chastity when the man will be able to look upon every other woman as through the eyes of his wife, and she will be able to look upon every other man as through the eyes of her husband.

This tract is issued with the endorsement of the Council of the Independent Labour Party, but for the opinions expressed therein the author is responsible.

10TH THOUSAND.

Woman's Franchise:

**The Need of
the Hour. —**

By

E. C. Wolstenholme Elmy.

SECOND EDITION.



**PUBLISHED BY THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY,
23, BRIDE LANE, FLEET STREET, LONDON. E.C.**

*Woman's Franchise : The Need of the Hour.**

SOME of us who have been working hard for more than forty years to secure for women the restitution of their ancient political rights, extended and adapted to meet modern conditions and uses, share to the full the indignation of those brave younger spirits who are resolved that this great act of human, national, and social justice shall no longer be delayed in the interests of political parties, or to suit the personal convenience of party leaders.

We demand our immediate enfranchisement on the same terms as men :

(1) Because we have, by long and painful experience, prove the absolute impossibility of securing any further redress of the many legal wrongs from which we still suffer, and because we fully realise the great danger of further careless, mischievous, and unjust legislation, greatly imperilling the well-being of women.

(2) Because the equal citizenship of women is essential to the growth and development in men of the sense of social and political justice.

(3) Because the enfranchisement of the women of Great Britain and Ireland will hasten the enfranchisement of the women of all civilised nations, and will thus lead to the development of a higher social and political morality all the world over.

It may be convenient to give here a brief* summary of the salient facts of the woman movement in this country up to date, including therewith the restitution and extension of the local electoral rights of women, and their right to sit on local administrative bodies, and the efforts—some successful and many fruitless—to change some others of the exclusively man-made laws from whose injustice women have suffered and still suffer.

It should, however, be here stated that the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies strictly limits its action to the acquisition of the Parliamentary franchise, and does not affiliate local societies having any further object. Many of the most ardent and vigorous supporters of Women's Suffrage are consequently in no way associated with the National Union.

Reprinted, with alterations, from the *Westminster Review*.

but are to be found in many independent bodies working also for other issues, such as the Women's Co-operative Guild, the Women's Liberal Federation, and more particularly in the Women's Social and Political Union, an active offshoot of the Independent Labour Party. It is to the activity of this body and to that of the Lancashire and Cheshire Women Textile Workers Committee and of the Women's Co-operative Guild, more than to any or all others, that the present living force of this question is especially due.

In explanation of the phrase "restitution of their ancient political rights," it should be remembered that in the earlier periods of English life women had unquestionably possessed and exercised electoral rights as "suitors" in the County Courts, and as "burgesses" in various boroughs. The advancement of boroughs to the *status* of Parliamentary boroughs was in those early days largely a matter of royal caprice or interest, but wherever this *status* has been achieved the women burgesses had the same Parliamentary electoral rights as the men. In those days, however, these rights were frequently regarded as burdens, because the constituents were bound to pay the Parliamentary wages of the representatives, and in the case of county constituencies, the giving of the vote usually involved long and troublesome journeys on the part of the "suitors," men and women, who were the electors. In this *limited* sense, the plea of Lord Salvesen, in the case of the Scottish Women Graduates, was correct, the exemption of women from voting duties, which were not then valued as "rights," began as a sex privilege. The note at the end of this article gives some interesting facts as to the very ancient voting rights of women in Scottish burghs. The cases there referred to were of infinite service to women in England and Wales during the brief, sharp, and happily successful struggle in 1869 for the restitution of the municipal vote.

For the story of the first statutory exclusion of women from voting rights by the Reform Act of 1832, up to which time there had been no statutory discrimination of sex against women, I would refer every reader to Mr. Keir Hardie's admirable pamphlet *The Citizenship of Women*,* to which this is little more than a supplement. This statutory exclusion of women from Parliamentary voting rights was followed by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, which resulted in the exclusion of women from the exercise of the municipal franchise in England and Wales. Both these measures enlarged the voting rights of men, whilst they extinguished for the time those of women, for whom freedom has not "broadened down from precedent to precedent," but far otherwise. Happily the exertions of but a few persons, of whom the present writer had

the privilege of being one, were successful in 1869 in securing the restitution of the municipal vote to women, who moreover during this period of exclusion from the municipal vote, were still voting as ratepayers, equally with men (and this whether married or single) in districts not subject to the Municipal Corporations Act, and in matters not within the jurisdiction of the Town Council, such as the election of churchwardens, waywardens, Poor Law guardians, and for the appointment of overseers and sale of parish property.

The case of *Regina v. Harrald*, heard in the Court of Queen's Bench in January, 1871, decided that a married woman, though qualified by occupancy and by payment of rates, and put on the burgess list, cannot vote at the election of town councillors; and further, that a woman, who is rightly on the burgess list, but married before the election, is also disqualified from voting. In favour of the married woman it was argued by Mr. Charles Crompton that women are capable of voting, and do vote, that no exceptions were made by statute with regard to married women; and that "coverture" being no longer a bar to the holding of property, should, therefore, be no bar to the enjoyment of the incidents of property, such as voting. On the other hand it was argued by Mr. (Lord) Herchell that a married woman is not a person in the eyes of the law. She is not *sui juris*. Curiously enough the words of the Lord Chief Justice (Sir A. Cockburn), in giving judgment, show plainly that it is possible, in the discharge of the highest judicial functions, to determine questions affecting the civil rights of women, and yet to be painfully ignorant of all matters relevant to the point to be decided upon. The Lord Chief Justice was obviously quite unconscious that women had possessed voting rights from time immemorial, and spoke of the Act of 1869 as though it were the first concession of them, instead of being merely the restitution of such of them as had been taken away thirty-four years before. It scarcely seems fitting that questions so gravely affecting the interests of women—present and future—should be thus lightly determined upon by persons ignorant of so many of the relevant facts.

This decision was given *after* the passing of the Married Women's Property Act of 1870, which enabled a wife to own and hold her own earnings, and thus to enjoy some at least of the benefits of property. Since then the Married Women's Property Act of 1882 has given to all married women fuller rights of property and contract, and with regard to women married since then has virtually abolished "coverture" with regard to property. Nevertheless, the ruling of *Regina v. Harrald* is still followed, and married women, however qualified as ratepayers, are in England and Wales still (Nov., 1907) treated as not being persons in the eyes of the law for the purpose of voting at county or municipal elections.

The Local Government (England and Wales) Act of 1894 only enables married women to vote as parochial electors, for guardians and urban or rural district councillors or for parish councillors, and this in spite of the pledge given by Sir Henry Fowler, who was in charge of the Bill, that he would secure their full enfranchisement for all local government purposes. Moreover, this Act and the subsequent Acts for Ireland and Scotland, provided that husband and wife shall not be electors in respect of the same property, a limitation which is not introduced in regard to any other relationship, and which is a survival of the legal doctrine that a married woman is not a "person" in the eyes of the law. With this exception the subsequent Local Government Acts for Scotland and Ireland secured to Scottish and Irish wives the full right of voting on precisely the same qualification as men, including the owner, lodger and service franchises, which seem moreover to be far more liberally interpreted and understood than in England,—whilst in England and Wales (outside the County of London) wives are still in the farcical hybrid position of being "persons" for the purposes of the minor elections, but not for borough or county council election purposes. Throughout the County of London they approach more nearly to the dignity of Irish and Scottish wives, thanks to the Act to assimilate the county and borough council franchises in London, passed in 1900.

The net result of all this tinkering legislation is that, for all *local administrative purposes*, women in Ireland and Scotland, whether married or unmarried, vote on precisely the same terms as men, but throughout England and Wales women do not possess the owner, lodger, or service franchises, whilst married women may not vote for borough or county councils, unless they are fortunate enough to live within the county of London, where they are empowered to vote for the county council and the borough councils.

With regard to the eligibility of women to public offices and to membership of local administrative bodies, it would appear to the plainest common-sense that in a country which since the Norman Conquest has been ruled by five Queens Regnant, the exclusion of a woman from public office on the sole ground of her sex, no matter how great her fitness for its duties, is an absurd barbarism. When the Education Act of 1870 became law, so little did those responsible for it share this modern view of women's disability, that both Mr. Gladstone and Mr. W. E. Forster, *assuming that women were eligible*, personally advocated the election of women as members of the "School Boards" created by it, although not one word appears in the Act defining the qualifications of candidates for office under it. At the first elections women were returned, not only in London, but in various parts of England, and in

some instances headed the poll. One result of the return of women to the School Boards was that women were thereby encouraged to offer themselves for election as poor law guardians, no sex qualification or disqualification being embodied in the legislation which created Boards of Guardians. The first woman guardian was returned in 1875, and the first married woman guardian in 1881.

In 1888 came the Act establishing county councils for England and Wales, and as that Act neither expressed nor implied any sex disability for the office of councillor, at the first election under the Act Miss Cobden and Lady Sandhurst were returned as councillors to the London County Council, while Miss Cons was elected alderman by the council itself. Hereupon Mr. Beresford-Hope, whom Lady Sandhurst had defeated at the poll, brought the question before the Law Courts, and the Court of Appeal decided that women were not eligible as county councillors. On this occasion it was that the late Lord Esher, then Master of the Rolls, gave utterance to the astounding dictum, "I take it that neither by the Common Law nor by the Constitution of this country, from the beginning of the Common Law until now, can a woman be entitled to exercise any public function." Yet at the very time Lord Esher spoke, women were acting as overseers, waywardens, churchwardens, poor law guardians, and members of school boards, which can scarcely be considered private functions, to say nothing of the fact that he himself exercised his judicial office by virtue of the authority of a female sovereign! Moreover, both then and on more recent occasions, it seems to have been quite forgotten that 13 Vict. cap. 21, sec. 4 expressly enacts "That in all Acts words importing the masculine gender shall be deemed and taken to include females, unless the contrary is expressly provided." Yet in all recent legislation on this subject, Parliament has not merely disregarded this provision, but also the old and sound constitutional view (practically illustrated by the numerous offices held by women through centuries, and more recently by their membership of school boards and boards of guardians), that disability is not to be presumed; but only admitted when declared and expressed. The Appeal Judges substituted for this the notion, historically indefensible, that "No woman is entitled to exercise any public function unless it is expressly in set terms granted," and thus enormously enlarged the scope of sex disability. The final judgment of the Court of Appeal, given on April 16, 1889, declared women incompetent to sit on county councils. Four days later the House of Lords rejected the Bill qualifying women to sit as county councillors by 108 votes to 23. Five weeks afterwards, in the early days of July, the Scottish Local Government Bill, creating county councils for Scotland, passed through committee. Section 9

of the Bill (now Act) opens by declaring that "No woman shall be eligible for election as a county councillor," a direct consequence of this legal decision. It is by means of this clause in the Scottish Act that women were shut out from being county councillors in Ireland. The fourth schedule of the Irish Act provides that the section (of which this is one provision) of the Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1889 shall apply to Ireland.

As a further result of this changed view of constitutional law, it was held necessary, when the Local Government (England and Wales) Act of 1894 was before Parliament, to safeguard the eligibility of women as parish councillors, urban and rural district councillors, Poor Law guardians, and as members of the London Vestries, by enacting, in *each separate case specified*, that "No person shall be disqualified by sex or marriage for being a parish councillor," &c., a strange and lumbering mode of removing specific alleged disabilities, *whilst strengthening the false assumption on which alone the alleged disability rested.*

One special new disability was imposed upon women by this Act, in spite of the protests of Sir John Gorst and other friends of justice, when, on New Year's Day, 1894, Clause 22 of the Bill was under consideration. The Bill provided that the Chairman of a District Council "unless personally disqualified by any Act, shall be, by virtue of his office, a justice of the peace for the county in which the district is situate." On this occasion Sir Henry Fowler proposed to introduce the limiting words, "unless a woman," thus taking the opportunity of an enfranchising measure to impose a fresh legal disability upon women. It should be remembered that up to this time no legal decision had been given, and no statute had been passed restraining women from the exercise of judicial functions. It is on record that in the reign of Mary Tudor two women were appointed justices of the peace, and there would seem no reason to question the legal powers of the Lord Chancellor, or of the Chancellor of the Duchy at the present time (save for the presumption suggested by the restrictive provision of the Local Government Act), to appoint suitable women to act as justices of the peace. That women magistrates, as well as women jurors, are urgently needed to secure effective justice in many cases, especially in cases affecting the relations of the sexes, is becoming daily more and more manifest.

A similar disqualification was introduced into the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1894, and the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, and also into the* Qualification of Women Act of 1907.

*NOTE.—"*Admission of a Woman as a Burgess.*"—On Tuesday, May 18, 1869, at the Edinburgh Town Council, an application of a woman to have her husband admitted a burgess was reported upon by the Lord

The London Government Act of 1899, which transformed the old London Vestries into Metropolitan Borough Councils, withdrew from women the power to continue on the new councils the admirable work which some of them had been doing on the vestries since 1894. Whilst the Bill was before the House of Commons repeated divisions were taken on the question of the eligibility of women as councillors, aldermen, and mayors, with the final result that they were disqualified as mayors, but made eligible as councillors and aldermen in the Bill as it left the House of Commons. The House of Lords, however, on June 26, 1899, struck out the provision securing the eligibility of women as councillors and aldermen by a vote of 182 to 68. The majority against women was mainly composed of Peers who had come to the House, to whose business they scarcely pay any attention, for the express purpose of striking a blow at justice to women. How absolutely this was the case may be seen from the fact that, an hour after this division, a further division was taken, on another point of the Bill in which only eighty Peers were present to take part. On July 6 the House of Commons, in obedience to the Government Whip, accepted the Lords' amendment, and rejected altogether the claims of women to any place on the proposed new

Provost's Committee, who expressed the opinion that the husband had no claim to be admitted a burgess, but that in respect the applicant complied with all the old conditions of burgess-ship, *i.e.*, 'held stob and staik' in the burgh, and 'walked, warded, paid extents and skatts therein conform to their substance,' she should be admitted a burgess in her own right. On this subject Mr. Marwick communicated some curious information as to the old custom of the Scotch burghs to admit women burgesses and women sisters of guild. On March 17, 1406, Aliison de Driscuoll, was made sister of the Edinburgh guild as heir of the late Robert Driscuoll, her brother. The oldest Peebles burgh record contains some entries showing it to have been the practice in that burgh to have women burgesses thus:— 'On November 15, 1456, was mayed burgess Ely Scott, and sal pay for hir freedom, x s.' On October 29, 1459, 'That ilk day was mayd burgess Meg Woodhal, and sal mak for hir fredom a ruid of caussa.' On April 23, 1464, 'item, that ilk day was gewn the freedom to Peronale, and sche sall pay thairfor xxx s. but favour. In Edinburgh again, an ordinance dated March 14, 1507, specifying the entry money to be charged on the admission of various descriptions of burgesses, contains the following sentence: 'And siclike the burges dochteris, lauchfullie gottin, to have the priuilege of the second son 2 for the burgessy, xiiij s. iiij d., and for the gildry, xx s.' These extracts showed that in the old Scottish burghs women were admitted to the privileges of burgess-ship and guild sister-ship; and that what was now proposed was no innovation upon the old constitutional principle, under which women's rights were secured at a very early period of our history. The magistrates and council unanimously resolved that in special cases women might still be admitted to the rights of burgess-ship, when they comply with the ancient conditions." *Manchester Examiner and Times*, May 22, 1869.

This woman was admitted a burgess of the city of Edinburgh in the following month, June, 1869, her qualification being that she carried on a separate business from her husband, a qualification also recognised for many centuries past, and at this very day in the City of London.

councils. The vote on Mr. Courtney's amendment, which reaffirmed the eligibility of women as councillors was—for, 177; against, 246; majority, 69. The second vote, formally accepting the Lords' amendment, was—for, 243; against, 174; a majority against women again of 69. The much-vaunted Government measure of last session, the Qualification of Women Act, 1907, still leaves *married* women incapable of sitting on any county or borough council in England and Wales outside the County of London, because outside London married women, being still not competent as electors for town and county council purposes, cannot be elected, since, under the Municipal Act of 1882, only electors are eligible. Under the Act of last session, twelve women were candidates at the recent Municipal elections; of whom six were returned and six defeated. It would seem that, under existing circumstances, it is only in small boroughs or under very special circumstances, that women have any chance of being returned, since, under the ward system of voting, the women being always a minority of the electors, cannot possibly alone return a woman, whilst in the larger boroughs, masculine pride of place resents and resists the return of a woman, although much borough and county council work would undoubtedly be better done by women than by men.

The proceedings in connection with the Education Acts for England and Wales and for London are too fresh in the memory of all to need recapitulation here. Only by the strenuous efforts of the few friends of justice to the mother-half of the race was any place reserved for women in the work which, as popularly elected members of the School Boards which those Acts extinguished, they had done so well; and that place only the inferior one of *co-opted* membership of the subordinate "Education Committee," no woman at present being eligible to either municipal or county councils, which are the "Education Authorities" and co-opting bodies. A woman, however, as a member of an urban district council whose area includes a population of over 20,000, may be even now a member of an "Education Authority." As there are over 60 such urban districts in England and Wales with populations of over 20,000, it would be wise for women practised in educational work to seek election to these councils.

Urban districts of that population, however, are apt for many reasons to seek transformation into municipal boroughs, to the councils of which women are not yet eligible.

The manner in which the "Education Authorities" have used their power of co-opting women as members of "Education Committees" is sufficient proof, if any were needed, that masculine sex-bias, free and uncontrolled, does not intend to permit to the mother-half of the race any real share of influence in the education of their own children. In the over-

whelming proportion of instances, two women only have been co-opted to education committees, including from twenty to sixty or even seventy men.

The Women's Suffrage agitation in this country practically began with the return of Mr. John Stuart Mill to Parliament in 1865. It is, I believe, true that a petition from women of Yorkshire, asking for the enfranchisement of their sex, was presented to the House of Commons whilst the Reform Act of 1832 was under consideration. Mrs. Mill's most admirable article, "Enfranchisement of Women," appeared in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW of July 1851, while *Justitia's** powerful pamphlet, *Women and the Electoral Franchise*, was published in 1855. But no sustained agitation was then begun. When the return of Mr. Mill as M.P. for Westminster assured women of an absolutely trustworthy advocate of their claims in the House of Commons, the active agitation began with the preparation of a Women's Suffrage petition, which, signed by 1,499 women, was presented by Mr. Mill in May, 1866. In 1867 the Representation of the People Bill was before Parliament, to which Mr. Mill put down an amendment that instead of the word "man" the word "person" should be used with regard to the suffrage under the Act. This amendment was defeated, 81 voting for and 202 against it. But a further amendment substituting the words "male persons" was also rejected. The Suffrage Societies, which had come into being as a result of Mr. Mill's return to Parliament, resolved to claim the suffrage under the new Act. Women occupiers in Manchester to the number of 5,347, and in Salford about 1,500, sent in their claims, as well as large numbers in other places, and many women freeholders in the counties. Most of the revising barristers threw the names out. The Manchester women consolidated their claims, and appealed against the decision, in the case *Chorlton v. Lings*, which was heard in the Court of Common Pleas, November 7 and 10, 1867, before Lord Chief Justice Bovill and Justices Willes, Keating and Byles. Lord Chief Justice Bovill conceded:—

"It is quite true that a few instances have been brought before us where in ancient times, in the reigns of Henry IV., Henry V., and Edward VI., women appear to have been parties to the return of members of Parliament, and possibly other instances may be found in early times, not only of women having voted, but also of their having assisted in the deliberations of legislature. Indeed, it is mentioned by Selden in his *England's Epinomis*, c. 2, sec. 19, that they did so."

He then proceeded to argue that the non-user of the right for so long a period raised a strong presumption against its having legally existed, that the legislature in '67 used the word "man" in order to designate expressly the male sex, as distinct from women,—and that therefore Lord Brougham's Act

*Justitia is still living and hoping for justice to women.

(13-14 Vic., c. 21, s. 4) did not apply. The other judges concurred. The second case, *Chorlton v. Kessler*, that of a woman householder at Rusholme with a county qualification, and two other cases, raising different points, the judges refused to hear, and treated them as decided by the first case.

In 1870 Mr. Jacob Bright brought in his "Women's Electoral Disabilities Removal Bill," in the following terms† :

"That in all Acts relating to the qualification and registration of voters or persons entitled to or claiming to be registered and to vote in the election of members of Parliament, wherever words occur which import the male gender' the same shall be held to include women for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to be registered as voters, and to vote in such election, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding."

The Second Reading was carried on May 4 by a majority of 33. Had this Bill been permitted to become law, a long and weary struggle would have been saved, each successive enfranchisement of men would have carried women along with it, and that higher civilisation and human justice for which Mr. Mill hoped so much from the enfranchisement of women would have been appreciably nearer to-day. Unfortunately, Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, took a decided stand against the enfranchisement of women, which he opposed to the last, and in response to a Government "whip," the motion for going into Committee on May 12 was defeated by a majority of 126. During the 27 years between 1870 and 1897 twelve divisions were taken on the Women's Suffrage question with varying adverse fortunes, and on February 18, 1886, the Second Reading of a Women's Suffrage Bill was carried *without* a division. The dissolution of that year stopped its further progress. In 1892 the Second Reading of Sir Albert Rollit's Bill was *defeated* by a majority of 23, the last adverse majority.

On February 3, 1897, Mr. Faithful Begg's Bill was carried by a majority of 71, but seven years were suffered to pass without a debate and division, so that it came almost as a surprise when, on March 16, 1904, Sir Charles M'Laren's Women's Suffrage Resolution was carried by a majority of 114.

†It is well to note that the Bill introduced by Mr. Jacob Bright thirty-six years ago, is identical in terms with the measure introduced by Mr. Will Crooks on the last day of the Session of 1904. It was drafted by Dr. Pankhurst, in 1870, for the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage, and introduced by Mr. Jacob Bright at their request. Dr. Pankhurst was also counsel, along with Mr. (Lord) Coleridge, in the case *Chorlton v. Lings*, and was a member of the first Women's Suffrage Committee formed in Manchester, and an earnest supporter of the cause to the day of his death. It is fitting that his wife and children should be the leaders of the advanced section of Women Suffragists' who have made the enfranchisement of women a living question demanding immediate attention.

Whilst women have been working and "patiently" waiting for their enfranchisement, some ameliorative measures as to other wrongs which they suffered have been passed into law, notably the Married Women's Property Acts of 1870 and 1882, applying to England, Wales, and Ireland, the cognate Acts of 1877 and 1881 applying to Scotland, and the Infants' Act of 1886, giving to the married mothers of the three kingdoms some slight share of claim to the custody and control of their own children. But here the reforming zeal of Parliament seems to have stopped, and for a very simple reason. The exclusively male electorate has, during the period of our working for Women's Suffrage, increased from seven hundred thousand to over seven millions. A male Parliament, elected by male electors only, is far too preoccupied with its own affairs, and the affairs of those to whom it is forced to admit some responsibility, to trouble itself about the well-being of those who are mere "Outlanders" in their native country. I write with deep feeling and no inconsiderable bitterness when I think of the hopelessly futile efforts I have myself made to secure the amendment of the iniquitous English Law of Divorce, the shameless law of intestacy, the miserable inadequacy of the law to secure to married women a just share of their husband's earnings for the support of the family, the outrageous English law of marriage, as expounded by thirteen judges in 1889, and many another legal iniquity, to explain which adequately would need an article far longer than the present one may be. I have come now to the conclusion that nothing more will be won for womanhood and justice in these islands until women are, equally with men, "makers of Parliament." The Parliamentary Franchise is our most sorely needed charter of liberty, our key of opportunity, and our weapon of defence against further reckless and unjust legislation. Should the present holders of office remain at the Home Office and the Local Government Board, we may expect the practical exclusion by law of married women from paid industry, whilst from other quarters we may expect a strenuous effort to secure the legal enactment of a "minimum wage," carefully differentiated so as to secure to a man, whether married or single, a wage adequate to the maintenance of himself, a wife, and three children, whilst a woman is only to receive such a wage as is adequate to the maintenance of a single independent adult. *Fabian Tract*, No. 128, *The Cause for a Legal Minimum Wage* affirms:

"Whilst the present competitive system of employment by competing private enterprises prevails, the industrial minimum wage must conform to three conditions: (a) *It must be lower for women than for men*; (b) all men must have the same minimum wage, and all women the same minimum wage; (c) the man's wage must be enough to support a family, and the woman's to support a single independent adult.

"This leaves the problem of the bachelor and the widow with children unsolved, just as they are left unsolved by our present system.

"The case of the bachelor may be disregarded for two reasons : (a) If the minimum wage secures enough to the married man, it is no evil, but only a *negligible inequity*, to let the bachelor have a little more than enough ; (b) the practice of working-men at present shows that, as a matter of fact, they do not find that they can provide themselves with domestic service and companionship more cheaply as bachelors than by marriage."

The case of a widow with a family they propose to provide for by "sufficient assistance from public funds to enable her, with the aid of free public schools, and free meals in them, to make up her income to the standard for heads of families." They quite overlook, when they propose for every single man an enormous excess of wages over those of any woman, the universal effect of thus teaching him, in the most forcible way possible, that he is a far more valuable human being than a woman can possibly be—with the conceit and self-indulgence to which such preferential treatment is sure to lead—nor do they suggest any means whereby the privileged male shall, when married, be induced, or compelled to devote an adequate portion of his wages to the support of wife and family. They do not suggest that the woman's wage shall be such as to enable her to provide against sickness, old age, or lack of employment, nor do they take into account the fact that many unmarried women wage-earners have others to provide for, an aged father or mother, or younger sisters or brothers, &c. It is simply monstrous that it should be possible for male lawmakers and administrators to deal with questions such as these without the equal co-operation and control of women. The man alone all but invariably sees only the half-truth which suits his sedulously educated masculine belief in his own sex as the whole of humanity. It is this unhappy mental condition, the result of ages of masculine domination, which makes the full recognition of the equal citizenship of women essential to the development and growth in men of the sense of social and political justice. Democracy, in the sense of equal justice to each and all, has not failed, because it has not yet been tried, the dominance of a *sex aristocracy* still prevailing, with the honourable exception of a few small communities, even in those states and nations which boast most loudly of their democratic institutions. The enfranchisement of women would substitute realities for shams, and educate humanity up to the perception of the higher human justice. The woman's movement is now in the fullest sense an international one, and whatever is won for women in these islands would therefore speedily be achieved for the women of all civilised nations, and would of necessity lead to the speedy development all the world over of a higher social and political morality. And such a higher social and political morality is vital to the well-being of the race, and essential to its upward and onward progress.

The urgency of the case being so clear, what stands in

the way of the immediate enfranchisement of the women of Great Britain and Ireland? Simply the selfish hostility of some members of the present Cabinet, the temporary convenience, of others, and the faithless feebleness of the 283 Liberal members of the present House of Commons who are pledged to Women's Suffrage. Had these 283 M.P.'s been loyal to their pledges, it is absolutely impossible that no place should have been found in 1906 for the consideration of a Women's Suffrage Bill, and only a second place at an evening sitting for the discussion of a Women's Suffrage Resolution. The Prime Minister's words to the Women's Suffrage deputation simply proved that, whilst admitting frankly the absolute justice of our demand, it would be very convenient to him not to have the question raised as one to be immediately dealt with by his Administration. And in this matter Liberal M.P.'s, and the Liberal rank and file outside, have shown themselves, as they had previously repeatedly done, ready to sacrifice the woman's cause to the temporary convenience or wish of their party leaders. The National Liberal Federation in 1905, at the meeting of its General Committee, and again at the meeting of its General Council, passed a Women's Suffrage Resolution by a very large majority. In 1906, the Liberals being in power, neither Committee nor Council dealt with the matter. Did the resolutions of 1905 mean anything at all, or were they merely intended to assure the help of women at the General Election? At any rate, no action for the woman's cause has resulted from them, whilst in this year, 1907, the General Council of the Liberal Federation, sitting at Plymouth, by formal resolution, excluded women from membership of its Executive Committee, and this although over one hundred women delegates were present representing men's Liberal Associations. If women Liberals have any sense of personal dignity, or of loyalty to womanhood, no woman will serve in any such capacity in the coming year.

We were warned some months ago that the Reform Bill of the near future would be a "Manhood" Suffrage measure, and more recently hostile members of the Ministry, such as Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lewis Harcourt, have been more outspoken than heretofore, whilst, on the other hand, the Prime Minister urges us to go on "pestering" people, and assures us that, in his opinion, our victory is nearer than we suppose. We accept the double omen. The fight may be fierce, but it shall be short. We demand our enfranchisement as the crowning work of the coming Session. We demand from the 283 Liberal members of the House of Commons, who are publicly pledged to Women's Suffrage, the frank and honest fulfilment of their pledges. Should the enfranchisement of women fail to be promised in the King's Speech as one of the

measures of the Session, it is the serious and bounden duty of each Liberal M.P. who professes to be a believer in Women's Suffrage to ballot in the first ballot of the Session for a place for the Women's Suffrage Bill, first introduced by Mr. Jacob Bright in 1870,—to carry the second reading by an overwhelming majority, and then to ask Ministers fully and promptly to adopt the measure and carry it promptly through its remaining stages. In this work they will have the cordial help of many members of each of the other parties. For our own part, our course is clear and defined. We *will* that our sisters shall be politically free to work out their own economic and social salvation and that of the race. We demand the immediate removal of this shameful sex disqualification, and our enfranchisement on the same terms as men, and whatever is to be done must be done now.

When the fathers and founders of the American Republic realised the greatness of the task before them, and of all its issues, they took a solemn pledge of constancy; and we who realise the still greater issues of the task we have undertaken to our countrywomen, to the women of all lands, and to humanity, present and future, follow their noble example, and pledge to the accomplishment of our work "our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honour."

Even now we are not alone, and soon multitudes will follow and work with us, for

"Our echoes roll from soul to soul,
And grow for ever and for ever."

I would refer everyone who seeks information as to the earlier political rights of women in England to Mrs. C. C. Stopes's admirable booklet, "The Sphere of Man," price 6d., T. Fisher Unwin.

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Infant Mortality

By
Margaret
McMillan.



Price
One
Penny.

PUBLISHED BY THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY,
23, BRIDE LANE, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.

Infant Mortality.

It is still enormous—120,000 infants die every year in this country.

The great majority of these little victims, belong, of course, to the poorer class. It is not hard to live, even if one is a weakly baby, when all the resources of wealth, and love, and modern science are at command. But if a weakly baby is born to a working-class mother, he cannot in many instances command even *her* services, and the chances of life and health are very doubtful indeed. The way in which poverty and crowding affects very young children may be gathered from the figures in this table, which is copied from George Newman's new book, "Infant Mortality."

METROPOLITAN BOROUGH OF FINSBURY. 1905.

Infant Mortality Rates from all causes in Houses or Tenements of several sizes :

Size of Tenement.	Census 1901.	Number of Births.	Number of Deaths.	Infant Mortality per Thousand.
One-roomed Tenement	14,516	532	117	219
Two-roomed Tenement	31,482	1,216	192	157
Three-roomed Tenement... ..	21,280	468	66	141
Four-roomed Tenement	33,185	464	46	99
Institutions and Houses of more than four rooms	1,000	206	8	37

In the one—and even in the two—roomed tenement, the infant has a doubtful chance of life, but of health and fitness he has, as we shall see, hardly a forlorn hope. Ninety-eight per cent. of the deaths recorded above occurred among children born in tenements of one, two, and three or four rooms. Only one and a half per cent. in houses with over four rooms. From every part of the country doctors send figures to prove that the death-rate is heaviest in the poorest and most

crowded areas. To take one or two more examples. Dr. Robertson, of Birmingham, reporting on an outbreak of typhoidal disease among infants, writes: "Practically all the deaths occurred in small houses. No deaths occurred in any middle, or better class houses during the enquiry." To take a great Scottish city, Glasgow. An outbreak of the same disease occurred a few years ago in that city. In a poor, crowded ward of the city, the death rate of infants was 1,698 per million. In a suburb area it was only 201!

'We must go back to the land,' say many reformers. Certainly, it would be good to send everyone into the country for ever, but it isn't clear how this can be done. How are the cities to be emptied, and the incoming tide of city-dwellers thrust back? The movement towards the city has gone on steadily and quickly for 50 years, even in such a quiet country as Sweden. In England nearly two-thirds of the whole population are now living in the stony wildernesses, "walled to the sky, and roaring like the sea." And it is well that the people have gathered thus in centres.* Since they began to do so science of public and personal hygiene has advanced so fast that in spite of all the city risks the death-rate among adults has fallen steadily. But infants have not shared equally in our gains. Their fate is not quite so doubtful as it was two hundred years ago, when nearly half of all the children born died, though most of them were country bred, before they were five! We are learning how to live, by living in towns. But we are not learning so well how to keep infants alive, for, what is strange, though the death-rate among grown-up people has gone down fast in the last 50 years, yet, during this time, the mortality among infants has hardly lessened at all. Take the figures for the last forty years:—

Annual death-rate in England and Wales from certain diseases of infancy, per million persons living:—

1866-70 ...	2685	1889-90 ...	2180
1871-75 ...	2414	1891-95 ...	2101
1876-80 ...	2320	1896-1900	2225
1881-85 ...	2103		

*In 1801 in England and Wales 16.7 per cent lived in towns. Today, more than 59 per cent live in cities.

Strange to say, in spite of the steady high mortality among infants a great many of the diseases from which babies used to die are fast disappearing. The problem of infant-life and death appears indeed, in one sense, to be simplifying itself very much. There are now but three great fatal diseases from which infants die. These are : First, Epidemic Typhoidal Diseases ; second, Pneumonia and Bronchitis ; and last, Prematurity (including Defects, and Weakness.)

Two of these great illnesses, or causes of death appear to be alarmingly on the increase. On the other hand there is good reason to hope that if they could be fairly tackled and overcome infant mortality would go down at the run.

Mr. George Newman gives the following table showing how these causes of death have affected infants within the past 60 years.

Percentage on total Mortality of Infant's (children under one year) in London.

Disease	1845-1849	1899-1903	Per centage Increase
Epidemic Typhoidal Diseases	10.7	15.1	41.1
Pneumonia and Bronchitis	16.3	18.8	15.3
Prematurity (including defects and weakness)	17.2	29.5	71.8

The last mentioned cause of death—Prematurity and Weakness—is not a disease but a condition. And it is this condition, this “weakness,” that is directly responsible for 30 per cent. of all infants deaths. A score of diseases have been got rid of—in vain ! The children born are, many of them, so weakly that they cannot live even when so many foes have been beaten. They are born, many of them, free of any disease, with good heredity, and they come into a world where reforms have been carried out that make it easier than ever before to live ! And why do they die ? It is surely time to enquire.

To begin with let us take a nation whose child mortality is low, (and especially low as regards *immaturity*), namely Sweden. The Swedes certainly love the country as we do. They have made their capital, Stockholm, as like the country as possible, and they have spent money freely in order to make it healthy. The Swedes, like ourselves, are being drawn, however,

to the city life, but not so fast as ourselves, for whereas there are but 1,104,000 Swedes in Towns, there are still 4,032,000 Swedes in the country. Putting this aside for the moment however we have to note that the Swedish women *marries later than the British Woman*. The average age of marriage for the Swedish woman is 27. Dr. Clouston, of Edinburgh has shown 26 and 27 to be the age when the woman of our zone herself ceases to be an immature being, when powers that have been waking for long years are at last coming into full expansion. It is as the French say a 'splendid moment' in life, the Wonder-week of May! But it is preceded by an epoch of doubtful days of instability. "Where premature marriages are common," says Emil Svenson, "there is a want of physical and spiritual strength in the offspring." And though of course, there may be many exceptions, yet this rule holds good. The number of immature infants in Norway and Sweden appears to be wonderfully small. During the whole of the last century the proportion of births has been 202 to every hundred deaths among the whole populace! And the death rate is still falling.

The ordeal of life in our world is very sharp in the beginning. It grows easier every day, every hour perhaps—but the younger the infant the greater his difficulty in managing as it were to sail the seas of life. The great majority of the deaths occur in the first weeks and months. A few figures illustrating in some degree though not by any means fully (since many of these victims were born strong and well developed) the equipment at birth, in various lands, may here be interesting. England does not stand where she ought to stand in the list, and strange to say, Japan, with all her passion for Hygiene, and splendid results to show in the health of grown-up people, and with all her love for children, too, does not take a very high place.

Number of children who die in infancy per 1,000 born, in 1903:—

Russia... 272	Japan 151	Scotland 126
Hungary 221	England..... 150	New S. Wales 111
Prussia 195	West Australia 145	Ireland..... 103
Jamacia 173	Switzerland ... 143	Sweden 99
France 155	Denmark 130	Norway 93

New Zealand 80; and in 1904 only 71 !

No doubt to different nationalities the problems of infant life present themselves differently. They are not the same in sparsely populated lands as in crowded places, nor are they the same for one class as for another. The death-rate of English babies is made to seem vastly lower than it is for the poor—it is veiled, in fact, by the lumping together of figures for all classes. But it varies in different counties and among the same class. Take for example the two counties—Westmoreland and Wiltshire—they stand out white and fair in every infantile mortality map of England. In Westmoreland, in particular, babies start with good prospects. The death-rate is low. And yet in the neighbouring county of Lancashire it is as high, and perhaps a little higher than in any other part of England. From the racial point of view there is certainly nothing to choose between the people of Westmoreland and Lancashire; they are the same hill country people. The average age of marriage varies little. If the children of one county show little power to survive as compared with those of another, there must be some other reason for it. Before going any further we may look at the Infant Mortality Returns for some Lancashire towns.

	Population— 1901.	Infantile Mortality per 1,000 births.
Burnley... ..	97'043	208
Preston	112'989	208
Blackburn	127'626	183
Oldham	137'246	170
Bolton	168'215	166
Bury	58'129	164

Percentage of Women engaged in 1901.

	Total.	Married or widowed women.
Burnley	75'4	33'7
Preston	73'8	30'5
Blackburn	76'5	37'9
Oldham	70'4	20'0
Bolton	71'1	15
Bury	73'7	25'1

If now we turn to places where women do not go out to work, the death-rate of infants is lower, though still very high.

	Mortality of Infants.	Total percentage of women workers.	Percentage of married and widowed women working.
Sunderland	166	38·2	7·7
Swansea	160	42·1	8·7
Lincoln... ..	157	47·2	7·8
South Shields	155	34·9	7·4
Newport	153	44·4	7·0
Cardiff	147	43·6	8·4
Barrow-in-Furness	144	40·7	5·8
Burton	119	41·8	6·9
	150	41·6	7·4

Thirty per cent. of all these infants die, as we have said, of sheer weakness—of unreadiness for life. And even in Westmoreland *this* is the cause of a great percentage of deaths, and one must allow that women labour in mills is not the only cause since the death rate is high even when women labour doesn't exist. Still, even when all this is admitted the evidence is heavy against all kinds of strain and long hours of toil in the months before or after child-birth. In Dundee, where children of wage-earning and non-wage-earning mothers were weighed at birth, the following results were found:—

Infants of mothers working up to time of birth weighed on average 3000 grms.

Infants of mothers resting during last weeks weighed on average 3290 grms.

Infants of mothers leading home-life with no hard labour weighed on average 3368 grms.

It is plain that many children begin life with a deficit. They might make it up perhaps later, but the chances are that they go on losing. In some places, Kearsley, in Lancashire, for example, the death-rate from immaturity is rising. In 1883 the infant mortality was 143 per thousand; in 1904 it was 229 per thousand, and 34 per cent. of these died from immaturity.

It is said that hard labour does not harm the expectant savage mother. The answer to this is first that no savage mother's work is so hard, so strenuous, so monotonous, so long as the civilized factory worker! But let that pass—the point is that the civilized woman is not a savage. Very hard labour is,

for her, at certain times, race suicide, or in any case it is race mutilation. It is race mutilation, not so much because it drains the strength, but because it *prevents* the storage of energy. In the civilized child there is a great deal that remains latent for a very long period. His childhood is long. Power is stored up in cells that will not function for twenty-five years! This is the capital of the race for its son or daughter. It is race-capital banked up for it in ages of human progress. If the child loses it he dies—for it is life. It is quite clear that a British mother cannot revert to primitive motherhood. The immature child dies as we see, instead of growing up a healthy little savage.

But to the person who writes of child mortality there is *one* cause above all others which stands out and to which he is always drawing nearer and this is—wrong feeding. So much has been written about it, and to such small purpose as it seems! It is hard for the average mother to see why her infant cannot take what older children take in the way of food. She sees he has no teeth—so she does not offer him bones or meat. But she does not see or know that he has no ptyalin in his mouth, and that therefore he cannot deal with starch much better than he can deal with bones—that he does not yet create the acids and ferments that deal with such foods as bread, or ‘pobs’ and is therefore obliged to fall ill, or pine away on such a diet. The study of baby-mouths is not carried on by many mothers. And so, alas! there is a large crop of badly-made mouths in our elementary schools. Most of these were shapely enough to begin with. But they have been spoiled with wrong feeding—and then mothers often give infants “comforters” to suck, and these do their share of mischief. It is pretty certain that they not only carry germs into the mouth, but the constant sucking pushes *up* the roof of the mouth into a vaulted shape—and prepares the way for nose and throat troubles. To be sure there are many simple mothers who know nothing about such matters and who yet save their children alive by keeping close to nature. The Irish women are poorer than the English or Scottish but they have a lower death-rate among babies than either. Infant mortality in Ireland is only two-thirds that of England, which, taking into account the smaller number of rich parents in Ireland, is an enormous difference. The death-rate among Scottish

babies is lower than in England, and we are pretty safe in saying that they owe this to natural feeding. Thirty-five infants in every thousand die in England from convulsions, whereas only six per thousand die in Scotland from the same cause. The figures showing the *fatal* effect of bread and other foods other than human milk are so numerous that one can hardly turn a leaf on Infant Statistics of death without finding them. The tables of hand fed and naturally fed children who have been weighed during the first seven or eight months of life are evidence that must convince anyone. The hand fed child fails from the beginning and right on, and it is he who swells the death tables. Seebohm Rowntree says that of 100 Infants deaths at York only 16 were naturally fed, and even five of these had had starch! At Stockport in 1904 it was found that of 116 Infants dead 95 per cent. were hand fed. Of 977 naturally fed children only 2 per cent. were delicate. Of 363 hand fed children 65 per cent. were delicate—which brings us to a new point not often taken into account.

It was usually held that where many die only the strong survive. That there is not only natural selection, but that everything is on the side of the strong. That the race, therefore, is to the strong—and everything, in the end, for the best! This, it appears, is a great mistake. The same causes that kill a great number of children cripple those that are left. Moreover, it is not the weakly and unhealthy who always fall victims. As far as typhoidal epidemics are concerned, the strong healthy fit child is as ready a victim as the ailing.

“Do the weakly children get killed off, and only the strong muddle through? Or do the evils that slaughter one in five have a maiming effect on those left?” This question has been asked and answered recently by the school doctor.

Dr. Kerr has shown in his last Report (for 1905) that in any district in London where the infant mortality happens to be low, the children born in that district in that year have a good physique; that, for example, the year 1902, which was an excellent year, was excellent not only in that few children died, but also in that those who lived were of much better physique than ordinary. But the children born in the years of high mortality had a poor physique.

In the health tables for every year the disease line dips with

the mortality line, and *vice-versa*. In schools, says Dr. Kerr (naming some) "the children show a slight increase in height when they are born in a year of lower mortality." The same fact was brought out not only in London but also in Manchester in 1905, where the weights of certain children were given, together with the infant mortality of the years in which they were born. It is now resolved that the birth year and its mortality of infants will in future be compared with the school records of physique ; but already it is proved that these must correspond.

Thus the "Survival of the Fittest" among babies is a fiction !

The dethroning of the infant begins when cow's milk is offered for human milk. Cows' milk is an ideal food for calves, but not for infants. When, however, the ideal which is also the natural food, cannot be had, the cow's milk must be doctored and treated so as to be as like the human as possible. Moreover, when an infant is nine months old cows' milk becomes an ideal food, and remains so for older children. For the infant, however, born in a city, this alien food is a thing that has to be watched and guarded as carefully almost as if it were an explosive or a wild animal instead of a means of life. How to keep it clean enough—that is the problem. One must think of the soil, of the drains, of the walls, of the gutter, of the farm buildings hundreds of miles away, of the dairy-pans, and the smock and hands of the dairyman. One must think of the cows and their grooms, of the milk pails, and railway waggons, of the waiting-stations, the milk shops, the milk-boy, and the place where the milk stands in the crowded house-tenement rooms. Everywhere death is waiting in the form of dirt—invisible or visible impurity. That is the enemy.

Overcrowding in towns has forced us to look to our drains, our water supply, our ventilation—more or less.

The love of offspring will force us to go further. The Innocents will not thrive unless we go *much* further.

So at this point we are brought face to face with a great many questions—and, to begin with, we have to look into the Housing question. If one goes deep enough one always comes to roots—not to one root, but to many. Lo ! here are nearly all the items in the Labour Reformer's programme crossing and

intertwining in the underground. An unclean soil, a faulty system of drainage, and pools and settles of waste and refuse heaps, these must be cleared away before we can indulge in any new hopes of saving infant life. Unclean and damp walls, too, and the absence of any place where food can be kept safely covered and cool, are things that cannot be forgotten. They may be, and are forgotten by the poor Irish mother, who is certainly not so "particular" as the Englishwoman. But then, *she* does not attempt, as a rule, to supply artificial food to her infant.

Then the milkers and cow-houses far away—who is to overlook them? Of course, a certain amount of inspection there is even to-day, but after all, what does one know of the milk that comes, after a long journey, into one's home. The average person knows very little about it. There are persons, of course, who take means to know—who know the dairy from which the milk is sent. There are people in Finsbury, for example, who know that their milk comes from a model dairy farm of 70 cows near Epping Forest, and that everything, to the smocks of the milkers and grooming of the cows, has been arranged so that death in the form of bacteria shall not slip into the baby-bottle in which the milk is sealed. But it is only here and there in England that we can know much about the staple food of children.

Meantime other countries are leading the way. In 1893 the Hon. Nathan Strauss established a milk dépôt at New York, supplied by a farm on a good hygienic basis. From 1891-95 the infant death-rate in the area he supplied fell suddenly to 90 per thousand. It is now only 61·2 per thousand—lower than the average death-rate of the country.

America and Denmark are the two countries which seem to lead in the matter of a pure milk supply. Denmark is becoming the model dairy country, and is starred all over with sweet and wholesome farms, with well-kept cattle, radiantly clean milkers, and pure, damp temples of cleanliness. America is going ahead, as usual, very tempestuously. Not by Acts of the Legislature, but by a great demand from the trade, has she got the railway companies to ensure rapid transit, refrigerators, specially prepared vans, and waiting stations—a whole department, in fact, of the company sacred to the carriage of milk. In Britain there are

willing helpers in the form of doctors, and here and there a dairy-farmer. But we are lingering, hesitating still. What is wanted is a new application of Socialist principle—cooperation among farmers and milk-producers for the carriage of milk on a large scale by the railway companies : and co-operation among consumers to secure the purity of the supply.

"See," wrote Elihu long ago,* "how private enterprise supplies the street with milk. At 7-30 a milk-cart comes along and delivers milk at one house, and away again. Half-an-hour later another milk-cart arrives and delivers milk first on this side of the street, and then on that, until seven houses have been supplied and he departs. During the next three hours four other milk-carts put in an appearance at varying intervals supplying a house here and another there, until at last, as it draws towards noon, their task is done and the street is supplied with milk." .

. . Six men, six horses and carts rattle along one after the other all over the district through the greater part of the day." It is a waste of time and labour. But beyond this there is often a loss which perhaps no one can estimate. Who knows who may have perished ? There is a pedestal somewhere of the Fates—one with her face to the sunrise—the Fate of Birth and Young Life holding a thin golden thread aloft. That thread is often broken before, long before it reaches the Fate of Age. It is a pretty figure—and poetic. But after all the real, certain means of laying the foundations of other evils are beginning to disappear in the neighbourhood of some crèches ! New ideas on the value of sleep, and the infants' right to a quiet room, and his unfailing "goodness," if goodness is only suggested to him by those in whose hands he is as helpless and responsive as clay. All this is beginning to filter into certain areas where formerly there was no knowledge of the kind before crèche came.

Who can tell what great men have died in their cradles. To think of the victims as weaklings—alas ! Is not that the beginning of all our folly : the first stumble of the blind ! No, they were not all unworthy ! In the twilight, beyond the glare, rises a cloud of dream-faces ; glows with mystic beauty, one and another nameless Star. Quenched ashes ! Débris of the race, cries a semi-barbarian thinker in a hurry. But the eyes of the

* "Talks with John Bull," post free 6d. from publishers of this pamphlet.

men and women of the future, will not thus read the legend on on myriads of tiny graves.

Meantime, something is done for infants by men and women outside the narrow circle of mere home interest. In England, Mr. Broadbent, the Mayor of Huddersfield, has made an experiment which promises to bring home the truth about baby-neglect in a very startling way. It is said that under his system the baby deaths in Longwood are reduced to 35 per thousand births. If this be so, then England has, after all, outdistanced every other land already, by a single effort! Other countries, however, are awake. Crèches are founded in every quarter of Paris, all of them under the jurisdiction of the City authorities. Those I have seen are very pleasant places. The nurses are devoted to the babies, and the little ones, clean, bright little Parisiennes begin at a surprisingly early age to take an interest in the toilette of visitors! Every European country, even Russia, has now its crèches—and middle class crèches too are opened for the relief of well-to-do mothers!

No crèche can take the place of home—yet, we may as well remember that a crèche may be, and is, very often, a school for home makers. Infant life is studied in many crèches—there, dependence on instinct is impossible, and thus, the value and meaning of many things concerned with life is lifted out of the shifting wave of mere instinct, on to the firm rock of consciousness and real knowledge. The crèche-nurse knows that she has a harder task, in a sense, than that of any mother. She cannot afford to be careless, because the results would be frightful, and what is more, would alarm everyone. One cannot see death spreading in the crèche without horror—in single deaths occurring in homes it is different. The nurse has to plan and contrive to get perfect conditions under difficulties, and she learns perforce. So the death-rate falls in the crèche, as in the city, and the crèches and cities become, if not homes, at least schools of life.

Nevertheless the crèche is, of course, only a palliative (if indeed we can say that anything which educates is ever merely a palliative). The real reform must take place in homes. It must extend, however, to farms, shops, dairies, and to the business operations of entire communities and even of nations. And who should join in bringing about this reform if not the Labour Party? Here is a piece of real Labour legislation waiting to be

done. Not waiting to be begun, for it is begun already, waiting to be continued vigorously by many and carried to a triumphant end. There is no item in the Labour programme which should be merely lumped with the others. There is not one of them whose success does not depend on being singled out and followed up vigorously. Our political success can be assured only by a series of concentrated efforts, our Labour successes by the selection by one and another question, into which some will throw their heart and strength, till practical difficulties are overcome, and the cloudiness that involves many of our proposals is stricken through with the level beams of positive knowledge. Such Reforms once carried are a fine kind of Propaganda. People who do not go to lectures will consider them. Mere specialization some will cry. But the charge of mere specialism will disappear if the specialist is thorough enough. He cannot make for one great end without meeting all the others *en route*. Thus the friend of Infants will learn much about the Housing Question, much about wage-earning problems, much about education, much about the importance of nationalizing railways, much about the conditions of rural life.

And if this question is worth the attention of men and women as all-round reformers, much more is it worthy their attention as parents. The love of offspring may have been chilled for a moment by the cold breath of our present industrial system. But it is bound to revive. And it is love that will save the myriads who embark on the rough seas of life from going down so soon into the dark waters.

I.L.P. Publication Department,

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A Straight Talk to— Ratepayers

**Facts for Citizens
about Rising Rates
Municipal Debt . .
Municipal Trading**

By Philip Snowden, M.P.



PUBLISHED BY THE INDEPENDENT
LABOUR PARTY, 23, BRIDE LANE,
FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.

A Straight Talk to Ratepayers.

THE cry of the oppressed ratepayer is heard throughout the land.

The ordinary citizen has been careless and indifferent in regard to civic affairs. Now that he feels the burden of the rates to be heavy he tries to find a scapegoat for his own sins.

He has no difficulty in finding other backs upon which to put the blame. There is the concurrent growth of Socialism and Labour representation on public bodies. There is Municipal Trading, and the hundreds of millions of municipal debt.

In these things the indignant and indolent ratepayer finds objects upon which he can pour the vials of his wrath.

I want to talk over these matters with such ratepayers as I can get to listen to me. This question of rates raises many points of very great importance.

HOW RATES ARE RISING.

I begin by admitting that the increase in rates has been enormous during the last twenty-five years. I know, too, that the burden of the rates is sorely felt by the working people, the shopkeepers, and the professional classes.

I will just put in a few figures to show the Increase of Rates since 1880, that is during the past twenty-five years:—

Average rates in the £ in England and Wales:

Year.	Rate in the £.		Year.	Rate in the £.	
	s	d		s.	d.
1884-5	...	3 9½	1900-1	...	5 1¼
1894-5	...	4 2½	1901-2	...	5 3¾
1898-9	...	4 10	1902-3	...	5 7½

It may give a more striking impression of the amount of the increase if I put it in another way. Between 1880 and 1904 the public rates in England and Wales increased per head of the population from 17s. 6d. to £1 10s. 8d.

In spite of all the "economy with efficiency" candidates have promised or attempted there is no stopping the increase of the rates. It still goes on. Each year the local authorities require a few Million Pounds more than satisfied them the previous year.

I know figures are tiresome and uninteresting, but as this Rates Question is largely a matter of figures, I must ask to be allowed to give them, promising to be no duller than I can help.

The amount raised in Rates (not including Water, Gas, and similar charges) in the years set out below, will further help to show the enormous increase in Municipal Expenditure within the last fifteen years.

Total Rates raised by Local Bodies :—

	Year 1890-1.	Year 1903-4.
England and Wales ...	27,818,642	52,941,665
Scotland ...	3,182,065	5,315,199
	<u>£31,000,707</u>	<u>£58,256,864</u>

Increase during last Fifteen Years £27,256,157, or over 87 per cent.

I am sorry that I cannot offer the suffering ratepayer any hope of having reached the top of the ascending scale.

The truth is that the figures seem rather to show that we may expect the increase to continue. For instance, the increases in the total amount raised in rates over the preceding year has during the last seven years been as follows :—

In England and Wales.

Increase in 1900 over 1899	...	£2,131,000
„ 1901 „ 1900	...	£2,259,000
„ 1902 „ 1901	...	£3,444,000
„ 1903 „ 1902	...	£3,890,000
„ 1904 „ 1903	...	£2,613,000

The hard-pressed ratepayer who has to find these millions might well inquire what is the reason for these never-ending increases, and where is the value he gets for all the money he pays in rates.

DOES THE RATEPAYER GET VALUE ?

We will make an effort to answer these inquiries. We will put the questions in this form. Is this continuous increase in Municipal expenditure necessary or justified? Do the ratepayers get value for their money?

We shall all agree that we cannot have public improvements without expense. It goes without saying that better attention to the requirements of public health must increase municipal expenditure.

It is equally obvious to everybody that during the last twenty-five years there has been a vast advance in the standard of public life.

Five-and-twenty years ago our Elementary Schools were almost, without exception, old, insanitary, and unsuitable. Every town, and most villages, have to-day large, roomy, well-equipped, well-staffed schools. There is something to see here for some part of the increase in the rates.

Our highways to-day, even in country districts, are “a thing of beauty and a joy for ever,” compared to the stone-covered roads of the days when the burden of rates was light.

This generation has seen practically a revolution in sanitary science. We have plentiful supplies of pure water; we have efficient systems of drainage; we have facilities for the isolation and treatment of diseases dangerous to public health; we have

the inspection of our milk, meat, and food supplies ; we provide for the insane and the aged poor a humane treatment.

Each year sanitary science discovers new methods of dealing with old evils. It is in the public interest that disease and dirt and every danger to public health should be dealt with in the manner approved by experience and science. This means expense, but to neglect such dangers involves, sooner or later, a greater cost.

It is important to take note of the fact that the increase of municipal rates is accounted for by the larger expenditure upon such matters as I have indicated, namely : Education, the Poor, and Public Health.

In 1905 there were 1,342,892 more children on the registers of our elementary schools than in 1891, and in 1903 the sum taken from the rates for aiding these schools was £16,273,877, while in 1891 the amount was £7,649,566.

We find an increase of over £5,000,000 in these fifteen years in the amount spent in Relief of the Poor.

In the same fifteen years the increase in the sum expended on Public Health amounts to about £13,000,000 a year.

Both in Education and in Poor Law Administration it will be admitted by all conversant with the state of things in the two departments fifteen years ago and to-day, that the difference in efficiency, in equipment, in quality, and in comfort is worth the additional expense involved in the up-keep.

A MATTER OF LIFE AND DEATH.

Do the ratepayers get value for the expenditure on Public Health of such a large sum annually ?

It may help us to give an answer to that question if we try to conceive what the state of things would be if there were not close attention to the dangers which menace public health.

If we could imagine a town population without a water supply, without a drainage system, without house inspection, without street cleansing, without food inspection, without provision for treating infection, without open spaces, we might then form some idea of what we get in return for the millions a year we spend on our Public Health departments. Without constant and vigilant attention to all these matters we cannot have a healthy community.

I will give one actual fact to show that the community gets value for the money it spends on necessary public needs.

The return for the money spent on Education and on the Poor cannot be given in figures.

Not can the full return in the form of improved public health be put into a statistical return. But something of what we do gain may be gathered from this one fact I am about to state.

I have been giving the figures showing the increase in Municipal Rates during the last fifteen years. The Death Rate has declined with every increase in public expenditure on sanitation.

In 1891 the Death Rate for the United Kingdom was 20·0 per 1000. In 1905 the Death Rate had, by a progressive decline, dropped to 15·5 per 1000. This means that last year 191,000 fewer people died than would have been the case had the death rate been the same as fifteen years ago! Improved Public Health has saved 1,518,750 lives since 1891.

Much of the unwillingness to pay rates, and much of the indignation at the increase of rates is due to the ratepayers not understanding the benefits they get from the money they pay in the form of rates.

WHAT THAT HA'PENNY GIVES.

If I put down the average rateable value of a workman's house at £7 I should be within the mark. But to allow no room for dispute we will take £10. At a rate of 8s. in the £ this works out that the average working man's family will pay £4 a year in rates. Four pounds a year is about 1s. 6d. a week, or less than 3d. a day.

The average working-class family pays, therefore, in rates about one halfpenny a day per head for all the benefits of municipal life.

One ha'penny a day! What would a halfpenny a day spent by the individual get for him? But what does this small sum give him when spent in the Municipal Co-operative Union?

For this halfpenny a day, the citizen—young, middle-aged, or old, as the case may be—gets a free Education for eleven years; he gets the protection of life and property by a police force and a fire brigade; he gets free access to the newspapers of the day and the literature of the ages; he can enjoy open spaces and well-kept parks; he is attended to if smitten by infectious disease; he gets his sewage disposed of and his refuse removed; should he become insane he is removed, kept and treated; he gets his food supply inspected; and, if destitute, he can claim free maintenance from the public funds.

These are but a few of the things which that halfpenny a day provides when spent through municipal co-operation.

So far in our enquiry we have established six points:—

1st—That rates have increased very considerably.

2nd—That rates seem likely to go on increasing.

3rd—That the increase is due to meeting the demands of a higher standard of common life.

4th—That the expenditure is of such a nature that it cannot be prevented, nor is it desirable that it should.

5th—That spending through the rates is the economical way of providing for needs which all citizens have in common.

6th—That notwithstanding all the foregoing points the fact remains that rates are felt to be a burden to many deserving classes, and in some cases are so oppressive as to injure or hamper the extension of local trade and the development of the town.

RATES AND MUNICIPAL TRADING.

There is an impression in some quarters that the increase in municipal rates is due to the advance of municipal trading, which has been so striking a feature of the activities of local bodies in recent years.

From the *Times* down to the *Daily Mail* municipal trading is being constantly attacked as being responsible for increasing rates, for the ruin of national credit, for the hampering of private enterprise, and the corruption of public life.

THE BOGIE OF MUNICIPAL DEBT.

A favourite bogie of the press and platform agents of the company promoter is Municipal Debt. This particular scarecrow has been used so long to frighten the ratepayer against approaching near the fat preserves of the company promoter that its appearance must be very familiar by now.

The Municipal Debt bogie is shown upon the screen in this form :—

Municipal Debt.

In 1894	...	...	...	...	£265,135,862
In 1904	...	...	...	...	£469,205,425
Increase in 10 years	...	...	...	...	£204,069,563

It is quite true that the Municipal Debt stood in 1904 at the enormous figure stated above. And it is true, too, that in the ten years the amount of the indebtedness has increased by the sum of £204,069,563. But what is the true significance of these figures?

Let me try to illustrate. The railway companies of the United Kingdom have borrowed £1,200,000,000 from individuals whom they call shareholders to build and work the several railway systems. But who would call this a debt, or think of giving vent to dismal howls at the impending bankruptcy of the railways because its borrowed capital was large and increasing.

On the contrary, the extension of a country's railways, that is, the more capital the railway companies owe to the shareholders, is generally regarded as evidence of wealth and prosperity.

So it is with this increase in what *Daily Mail* statisticians call Municipal Debt. Municipal capital is no more debt than is the capital of any limited company.

Municipal debt is of two kinds. One class is the capital invested in undertakings of a business character, such as gas works, harbours, piers, tramways, electricity works, markets and waterworks.

The other division includes the expenditure upon objects which the local authority is compelled by law to provide, as sewerage, street improvements, hospitals and asylums, Poor Law institutions and schools.

The total of the Municipal Debt is divided just about equally between those two divisions of municipal activities.

The critics of municipal finance never protest against the local authority being allowed to carry on the non-profit making undertakings, such as sewerage works, drainage, and road-making. All their opposition is to the municipality touching the domain of productive business, which should be left, in their opinion, for the exploitation of the private company.

Half the Municipal Debt is therefore of a nature which can never yield a profit. It is expenditure which is necessary which private enterprise will not incur because no profit is to be made; but indirectly it is of untold value to the community in making life possible and the condition of life better.

I need not labour this aspect of Municipal Debt. It is the Debt which municipal bodies have incurred for the productive side of their work against which the fury of the anti-municipal leaguers is hurled.

WHY MUNICIPAL TRADING IS BAD !

Municipal trading, these opponents urge, is bad.

- 1.—Because such work is outside the proper sphere of the municipality.
- 2.—Because the municipality cannot conduct such businesses as well as private companies.
- 3.—Because experience and facts show that companies give cheaper and better services than local authorities.
- 4.—Because municipalities lack initiative and energy, and as a result the development of industries like tramways and electricity is hampered.
- 5.—Because such municipal trading is carried on at a loss, and the losses have to be made up from the rates; hence the increase in rates simultaneous with the increase of municipal trading.
- 6.—Because the more undertakings a municipality owns, the higher the debt and the higher the rates.

These are some of the audacious statements by which the company promoters carry on the anti-municipal campaign in the press and on the platform.

It will be no difficult matter to disprove every one of these contentions.

Of course The proper sphere of municipal activity includes everything a municipality can do better than a private company.

The remarkable extension of municipal enterprise is due to two causes; first, the failure of private enterprise to give public satisfaction; and second, the object lessons of the superiority of municipal over private supply have encouraged the people to extend their collective operations.

CAN COMPANIES DO BETTER THAN MUNICIPALITIES ?

If there be one business beyond others where municipal trading has been attacked it is the supply of electricity.

London is the last place in the country where the advocate of municipalisation will go to find material to support his case. If the public authority can beat the company in London, it is certain that the company would never get a show in a provincial town.

Yet what are the facts about London and about the supply of electricity? In 1904-5 the average price charged to the consumers for electric power by the London companies was 4·06d. per unit. The municipalities beat the companies in price by twenty per cent., their average price being 3·25d. per unit.

Liverpool, Glasgow, Leeds, Bradford, Manchester, Sheffield, and a score of other towns have taken over tramways from private companies. It would require a good deal more than the wailings of the *Daily Mail* or the ravings of the Industrial Freedom League to convince the citizens of any of these towns that it is better and cheaper to have a company own the trams than to have them under the municipality.

The history of tramway development in Great Britain during the last dozen years disposes conclusively of the two objections brought by opponents, namely, that companies can give the public better service and that municipalities lack enterprise and initiative.

I am prepared to justify the truth of that statement by taking any instance any one cares to select of a tramway system taken over from a company by the municipality.

Take the case of Leeds. This city was blessed with the advantage of private company tramways up to 1896. At that time the tramway routes throughout the city "amounted only to 22 miles, the fares were high, the service a mixture of slow horses and dirty evil smelling engines, the track almost worn out, so bad that the Board of Trade refused to allow the company to continue to run cars on some routes."

In 1896 the Corporation obtained powers to acquire the system. In a short time a revolution has been effected by the energy and enterprise of collective effort. To-day, instead of but 22 miles of track, there are over 100 miles; the fares are 1d. for two miles, and half-mile stages for $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; the wages of the servants have been very considerably raised, and the hours of work reduced.

Financially, too, the municipal management has been equally successful. In 1903 the sum of £62,000 was handed over as profits to the relief of the rates, after payment of interest upon capital, repayment of loan, and allowing £14,104 for depreciation and reserve.

Under municipal management in Glasgow the tramway system has developed quite as remarkably. Let the following figures tell the tale:—

Year.	Miles of Track.	Passengers Carried.	Receipts.
1895	64	57,000,000	£222,121
1903	130	177,179,549	£653,199

It might be noted that the fares are on the average about 50 per cent. lower than those charged by the company.

In the face of facts like these, which I could multiply by scores, the barefaced charges of the company promoter against municipal management stand exposed.

IS MUNICIPAL TRADING A BURDEN ON THE RATES?

Another charge made by the opponents of Municipal Trading is that such trading is carried on at a loss, and the losses have to be made up from the rates, and hence the increase of rates is due to municipal trading.

Instead of Municipal Trading being a burden on the rates, the very contrary is the truth. I will give a short extract from a lengthy list compiled by the Borough Treasurer of Preston. This table gives particulars relating to 79 boroughs in which last year (1904-5) the rates were reduced by the profits on Corporation trading. That list is by no means complete, as within my knowledge many towns are omitted where the rates benefit largely from municipal undertakings.

TOWN	Profits from							Rates reduced in £
	Markets	Gas	Water	Electric Light	Trams	Estates owned, etc.	Total Profits	
Bolton ...	600	15500	—	5400	4000	1860	28360	s. d. 0 9½
Blackpool ...	300	14000	—	4000	4000	—	22300	1 0
Burnley ...	805	11050	—	3015	—	100	14970	0 10½
Carlisle ...	—	7050	7577	—	—	4505	19112	1 10
Darlington...	95	4000	6300	1850	—	—	12245	1 2½
Dewsbury ...	250	5466	—	500	—	—	6216	1 0
Hull ...	3197	—	6000	—	10000	29739	48936	0 10
Lancaster ...	—	2000	4852	—	—	2698	9550	0 11½
Leicester ...	3182	30000	—	—	—	18097	51279	1 1
Liverpool ...	12720	—	—	19740	25320	106301	164081	1 0
Macclesfield	—	5279	639	—	—	1114	6482	1 5½
Nottingham ...	6138	19493	—	10000	15000	14218	64849	1 3
Rochdale ...	—	17693	—	2350	—	—	20043	1 3
Salford ...	—	20000	2800	8000	13000	—	43800	1 0½
Stockport ...	—	12322	—	2000	2500	4474	21296	1 3½
Warrington ...	2500	4180	—	—	—	—	16680	1 7½

The benefits of Municipal trading are not confined to the profits which may be given to the relief of the rates.

These profits have been made after :—

- Giving a cheaper service.
- Better conditions of labour.
- Payment of interest on loan capital.
- Payment of year's proportion of redemption fund.

CHEAPER SERVICE.

I have given some instances to prove that municipalisation gives much cheaper service in trams and electric power and light than companies do.

The cases where the charges for gas and water have been reduced under Municipal ownership are so numerous that I need not occupy space in quoting examples. The reader can find plenty of evidence in his own neighbourhood to decide between municipal and private gas and water concerns.

A DIFFERENCE TO REMEMBER.

A very important thing to remember in connection with municipal trading is that the accounts may show a loss, while at the same time the undertaking is in reality making such a profit as would pay five or six per cent. dividend if the concern were owned by a company.

Let me explain. Municipal undertakings have to pay interest upon borrowed capital invested. This averages $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In addition, a sum has to be set aside every year towards paying off the debt, and this will vary from about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

A municipal tramway or electricity station may figure in the returns as having lost some hundreds, or may be a few thousands in a year. But the fact remains that it has made a company profit of probably 5 per cent.

I will try to make this clear by an illustration.

In the year ending March, 1905, the Leeds Electricity Department accounts showed a loss on the year's workings of £717. The year before there was a nett profit of £1,313.

But in the year when the loss was shown the financial results were as follows :—

Revenue ...	...	...	£84,417
Expenses...	...	...	£28,364
Gross or Company Profit			<u>£56,053</u>

Had the concern been a company it would have declared a profit of £56,000, and would probably have distributed £40,000 as dividend.

But the Leeds Electricity Department had to pay £28,809 as interest on the mortgage loans, and £27,961 had to be put aside towards repaying the principal.

But every year the loan gets less, every year the interest is less, and every year the repayment fund is bringing nearer the time when the property will be clear of debt, when there will be no payments for interest or sinking fund, but when all the gross profit will be available for reducing the cost price, or for any public use desirable.

Opponents of municipal trading always very conveniently forget to distinguish between the profits of a company and the profits of a municipal concern.

Before leaving this point let me give the figures applying to the total of municipal concerns in the country. We have the returns summarised for 1902 only.

Total Capital invested in Municipal Concerns		Gross Profit		Paid in Interest		Payments of Principal
£121,172,372	...	£4,812,005	...	£2,975,906	...	£1,264,544
		Nett Profits	...	£378,281.		

In addition to the charges on gross profits for interest and repayment, large sums are set aside as "depreciation," though municipal concerns are generally kept in perfect efficiency from current revenue.

In that year the sum of £1,264,544 was added to the clear property of the British ratepayers—a clear saving from municipal trading. Had the concerns which made this profit been private companies, that huge sum and a good deal more in higher charges would have been taken as dividend by shareholders.

I have only one other point I want to put forward bearing upon the finance of Municipal Trading. But it is a very important point.

A STRIKING CASE OF PUBLIC BENEFIT.

I can best, perhaps, make my point clear by taking an actual case to illustrate:—

The town of Nelson, in Lancashire, owns its Gas Works. The financial position of this concern at the end of the last year (1904-5) was as follows:—

Capital Outlay	...	...	£179,050
Repaid	...	...	54,683
Debt Outstanding	...	...	124,367
Trade Profit for the year	...	...	23,672
		(or 7·64 per cent.)	
Trade Profit Capitalised			}
at 3½ per cent.	...	...	
			£390,629

That is to say, that if the Nelson Gas Works were put upon the market, with a guaranteed interest of 3½ per cent., they could be sold for £300,629, or more than **Three Times the amount of Debt upon the concern.**

The town owns its Water Supply. In like manner if this concern were turned into a private company, it could be sold at a profit which, with the profits from the Gas Works, would pay off every penny of the town's debt, and leave the town its Electricity Works, its Tramways, its Markets, its Parks, its Free Library, its Town Hall, its Technical College, its Schools, its Streets, its Drainage, as a free gift.

But the ratepayers of Nelson will not sell their Gas Works or Water Works. They will keep them for the benefits they derive from them, knowing that the properties will become more valuable to them each succeeding year, and that in a generation's time the town will have its present properties freed from debt, while still retaining the ownership thereof.

HOW CAN THE BURDEN OF RATES BE LIGHTENED?

I come back now to the admission I made at the beginning—that Rates are high, that municipal expenditure seems likely to continue to increase, that the burden of rates is oppressive to the poorer ratepayers.

The question I have now to answer is, "How can the burden of Rates be lightened, while at the same time desirable and necessary municipal improvements are carried out?"

I have, I think, made it clear that it is not by limiting the powers of Municipalities to supply public needs, nor by restricting municipal borrowing for trading purposes that the relief will be obtained.

On the contrary, we must, to get relief, extend the sphere of Municipal work, and add to the number of Municipal trading concerns.

It will be remembered that I showed that every service supplied by municipal co-operation was a distinct saving to the individual ratepayers' pocket, because it gave him a cheaper service at a much less cost. In this way, though a little more might be paid in rates, a good deal less will be spent in other ways.

The question of making profits from Municipal Trading and using these profits to relieve the rates is one upon which opinions differ. It is a question of point of view. There is much to be said both for and against the practice.

In the present stage of municipalisation, I consider the making of profits both desirable and just. It is desirable because municipalisation is still upon its trial, and it must fully justify itself in the eyes of all men. It can best do this by showing that it can beat private enterprise at its own game.

It is urged against profit-making that the practice is the extra taxation of a section of the ratepayers for the benefit of the whole body or of another section.

There seems to me to be a serious omission in that line of argument. Why is a municipality able to give a cheap gas supply? Because the credit and capital of the whole body of citizens is pledged. It is only reasonable, therefore, where such an obligation or risk is upon every citizen that that section which get the benefit of this cheap supply from this general risk should pay some acknowledgment for it.

THE GREAT QUESTION OF INTEREST.

Again, the greatest problem of municipal finance is the question of interest upon Municipal Debt. The ratepayers of the country are paying £15,000,000 a year in interest upon borrowed capital. The question for the ratepayer is, "How can this drain for interest be stopped?" By the system of borrowing to raise the capital for new undertakings it works out that the sum paid for a loan before the loan is all paid off is equal, as a rule, to three times the amount originally borrowed.

Municipal trading may be used to provide capital without

the necessity of borrowing from private sources, and in that way the payment of interest may be avoided.

It is better, and certainly more economical for the ratepayers, to devote £50,000 of gas profits to carry out some public improvement which is needed than to give the sum in relief of the rates.

We must, then, to reduce the payment of interest, look out for some profitable business which can be municipalised and the profits of which can be used as municipal capital.

TO EXTEND MUNICIPAL TRADING.

There are many such businesses ripe for municipalisation. There are the Milk supply; the Bread supply; both to be recommended on hygienic grounds as well as economic; Fire insurance; the Coal supply; Works departments.

Fire insurance is a business eminently suitable for municipalisation. It is simple, once established almost self-managing, and is enormously profitable.

A Mutual Fire Insurance Society has already been established among local authorities for the insurance of public property only.

The Society has only been established three years and has scarcely got fairly going. Yet last year on a nett income of £3,207, a profit of £1,304 was cleared, and the losses from fire was only 10·8 per cent., which was the lowest of any English fire office.

If this can be done by a new company with only a small portion of the municipal property of the country insured, what might be done if the municipalities were allowed to insure all the property of the ratepayers.

An industrial town with a population of 50,000 will pay about £50,000 a year in fire insurance premiums. This sum at present goes to enrich the private insurance company.

The leading fire insurance companies have accumulated funds out of premiums which amount to nearly £40,000,000. This has been done after paying enormous dividends.

Over 25 per cent. of the income is taken in working expenses, the losses average about one-third of the income. That is to say that the companies take in profits and expenses nearly two-thirds of the premiums paid.

If the ratepayers insured against fire through the municipality there is no doubt that when the undertaking had become established the premiums could be reduced by one-half.

Taking our town of 50,000 inhabitants, that would mean a saving to the insurers of £25,000 a year, equal to a rate of about 3s. 6d. in the £.

Or if it were not considered desirable to reduce the premium rate, there would be £25,000 a year available as municipal capital.

In like manner could the municipalisation of the coal supply be made of great financial benefit to the ratepayers.

Corporations buy coal at prices of something like 5s. and

upwards a ton lower than similar coal can be purchased by individual ratepayers. The municipalisation of the coal supply would directly or indirectly benefit the average householder by at least 6d. a week. This is as much as all he now pays in rates.

That is to say the actual advantage to the ratepayer from a municipal coal supply would be equal to making him *rate free*!

REFORM OF THE RATING SYSTEM.

To relieve the ratepayer, to find means for carrying out non-productive improvements, we need a revision and reform of our rating system.

Much of the Poor Rate and most, if not all, of the Education Rate should be transferred from local to national taxation.

These services are national, not local in their character.

The growth of population, the increased demand for land, the expenditure of public money on improvements, give added value to land sites. This added value, created by the community, is appropriated by the landowner.

The ratepayers pay for improvements which give the value to the land. Then they have to pay higher rents to the landlord and heavier rates to the municipality, because of their own previous expenditure.

Every ratepayer is well acquainted with cases in his own neighbourhood where the landowner is enjoying unearned incomes from land values to which he has contributed nothing.

REAPING WITHOUT SOWING.

May I give an illustration which will apply in degree to every fairly prosperous town in the country.

The rateable value of Manchester in 1891 was £2,798,005. In 1902 it was £3,464,400. In eleven years there has been an increase of £666,395. The rateable value represents only five-sixths of the actual rental value.

Therefore, in eleven years the rental value of property in Manchester has risen by £800,000 a year. One-fourth of this represents the value of the site. The increase, in eleven years of the annual value of the site of Manchester has been £200,000. This capitalised at 24 years' purchase, represents an increase of £4,800,000.

In eleven years the landowners of Manchester have been presented by the ratepayers of Manchester with a clear gift of £4,800,000.

The actual fact is that the increased value would be much more than this, for much land had in the meantime become valuable, but it had not yet been rated at the enhanced value.

A just system of taxation would have secured for the public benefit this sum of £4,800,000 increased value of land accrued in eleven years.

The increase in land values has not stopped in Manchester, nor elsewhere, where the population is industrious and the municipality progressive. It is still going on.

Taxation of land values will secure some portion of this social increment for its rightful owners. But mere taxation will be only a partial and ineffective remedy.

THE PROPER COURSE.

The real solution is for the community to own the land. Then every penny of added value will come to the community.

While we are waiting for a comprehensive scheme of Land Nationalisation, much advantage might be derived from the granting of powers to municipalities to buy suburban land and to develop the same.

Let the reader think for himself what the advantage to the town in which he lives would have been if, say twenty five years ago, the town had bought the hundreds of acres then farm land, but now built upon.

We cannot very well undo the past. But we can learn from past mistakes and avoid similar ones in the future.

The tendency has set in for our towns to be less congested in the centres, and for the population to be more diffused. With the growing appreciation of the value of more air space and open surroundings this distribution of the population will go on. The development of tramways will assist this movement.

Suburban land is likely to be in greater demand from this cause. Now is the time, therefore, to be preparing for what is coming. If the community owns the sites on which the expanded cities of the future are going to be built the problem of rates and of the means to carry out public improvements will have been solved.

My space is full, and though so much more might be said I must conclude.

I have put these facts forward for the consideration of the interested ratepayer and the progressive citizen.

Those men and women who want to help in municipal reform on the lines indicated may do so by joining the Independent Labour Party.

A Municipal **Bread Supply.**

By Travers}H. Griffin.



**Price
One
Penny.**

**PUBLISHED BY THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY, 10,
RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.**

A Municipal Bread Supply.

BY TRAVERS H. GRIFFIN.

*(Three Years Organiser to the Amalgamated Union of
Bakers and Confectioners.)*

INTRODUCTION.

ONE need not be so very old to remember the time when there were no municipal trams, and when very few towns had a municipal gas or water supply, when in short the very mention of the advisability of such undertakings was sufficient to provoke such violent opposition that all but those who had the most ardent faith in such things discreetly said nothing in their favour. This was in the hey-day of the famous Manchester School of Political Economy, but now, thanks to the effort of a sturdy band of men and women who have for the most part laboured without reward or applause, municipalization, if not exactly fashionable, is not unfavourably looked upon, and many Town and City Councils have gone into business as manufacturers of gas and electricity, storers and distributors of water; landlords of artisans' dwellings and lodging houses; hackney carriage, bus, and tram car proprietors. Others have added to the list public baths; markets for the sale of fish, vegetables, meat, cattle, &c., and in a few years' time, despite the shriekings of industrial freedom leaguers, and the more or less conscientious objections of retired bankers in their dotage, it is more than probable that municipal pawnshops, coal and milk supplies, will be accomplished facts.

Why then should bread wait? Most that can be urged in favour of municipal trams, gas, water, &c., can be urged in favour of a municipal bread supply, but the argument, perhaps, that is most likely to appeal to "the Man in the Street" [and this pamphlet is intended for that gentleman] is that it is necessary in

THE INTERESTS OF PUBLIC HEALTH.

In fact, if there existed no other grounds why municipalities should undertake the manufacture and distribution of bread, the danger to the public health of much of the bread manufactured under present conditions is sufficient justification. The only consideration of very many master bakers is, at the present time, profit. That is the altar he worships at. How to get his goods produced as cheap as possible is his chief concern. He has few

qualms of conscience about his customers, their health is none of his business, and consequently any money he may spend in putting his bakehouse into a sanitary state, he spends grudgingly. The conditions therefore under which much of the Staff of Life is produced are as bad as they well can be, despite the efforts of officers of health. Verminous, dirty, ill-smelling, badly ventilated bakehouses, with sanitation of the crudest description abound; some of the dens positively defy description. Occasionally one of them is brought into prominence by the prosecution of the owner. The few who take an interest in these matters are shocked by the disclosures, we have a nine days' wonder, other sensations crop up, all is forgotten, and things go on as before. Just at the time the delinquent is soundly condemned, his business temporarily suffers, and the public is satisfied. It never seems to be suspected that in these cases of insanitary bakehouses there is in many instances but one difference between saints and sinners; the latter have been found out, the former have been luckier; in other words, only a few of the worst cases ever get into the police court.

I do not for a moment wish my reader to infer that the conscientious master baker who takes a pride in his business is non-existent. He does exist, but he is handicapped by having to compete for custom with the unscrupulous man who neglects all sanitary precautions the better to keep down cost of production, with an eye to underselling his rival and getting a monopoly of the trade of his district.

What the unscrupulous man is capable of in the way of neglect of sanitation, etc., the following quotation from the "East Anglian Daily News" will show:—

"At the Ipswich Police Court a baker and confectioner was charged with being the occupier of an insanitary bakehouse. . . . Mr. Hicks, the sanitary inspector, said he visited the premises on June 29th. They were in a very dirty state, and appeared in a very neglected state, through not having been properly cleansed. The floor of the bakehouse was covered with mud and flour, and had evidently not been washed for some considerable time. The yard was strewn with cinders, ashes and other refuse and waste that had been thrown from the house into the yard for the fowls to feed upon. The flour was kept in a galvanised shed which had no front. Describing the state of the yard, the inspector said that the dirt was so thick that it was almost impossible to see the paving-stones in the upper portion. **On the 18th of November he found a drain blocked, and sewage was standing in the yard, while tarts, cheese-cakes, buns, and sausage-rolls were put in the yard to cool—close by the W.C.** There was absolutely nothing to prevent the poultry from flying over them and there was evidence that the fowls had been about among these things. Lard and

butter tubs were standing in an insanitary scullery.'

The editor of the "East Anglian Daily News," in commenting upon the case, said that most reasonable people would conclude that **food produced under such conditions as these was fit only for pigs.**

The apologists for the present system of production for profit and plunder have contended that the case cited is an isolated one, further that it occurred in a small country town, and that nothing like it ever happens in large towns like Birmingham, Manchester and London. In these centres of commercial enlightenment, insanitary bakehouses are supposed to be in the same category as snakes in Ireland, the sanitary inspector being the good St. Patrick who has brought about this consummation. This is not true. My attention was called some time ago to a large bakehouse situated off a fashionable street in the midland capital. The approach to the bakehouse was a long entry and in close proximity to it were six privies, the nearest being only five feet from the bakehouse door. I inspected one of these privies and found it in a most filthy state; the flushing apparatus was out of order and the earthenware receptacle was full of foul matter to all appearance pregnant with diarrhoea bacteria, which could be carried by an air current into the bakehouse. This in "the best governed city in the world." What can be expected in more backward towns? While in Merthyr I came across a bakehouse divided from a row of privies by a wall which was in such bad repair that it allowed the effluvia from the privies to enter the bakehouse in such volume as to render the latter at times almost untenable.

In fact, insanitary bakehouses are far more numerous than the public supposes, and they most often exist where least expected, it being by no means uncommon for shops in the most fashionable quarters to have bakehouses of the worst description. But even this is not the worst feature of the present system under which bread is produced, for there is the question of the health and habits of the man who makes the bread.

If a bakehouse be kept as cool and as well ventilated as is possible it is impossible to prevent the operatives perspiring at their work, and when they, as they frequently do, have to work in a temperature of a hundred degrees of heat, the perspiration runs from their bodies in streams and is mixed in the dough as they work. Nor does the dough machine obviate this, because in lieu of kneading which the machine saves, the men are compelled to mould a much greater number of loaves for a day's work. To do this they are compelled to work at high pressure; in fact, in one bakehouse in Cardiff the men work without shirt or socks, the almost unbearable heat of the bakehouse demanding the sacrifice of the clothes. In another, the perspiration from the men's bodies dropped on to the moulding table, collected in the grooves, and ran in tiny rivulets on to the floor.

When the baker is a healthy man whose habits are good this is revolting enough, but when he suffers from skin or venereal diseases or is in an advanced stage of consumption, it is impossible to exaggerate the danger to public health. And here I may say that journeymen bakers are by no means a healthy body of craftsmen; on the contrary they are a diseased body of men. Long hours of exhausting labour in a hot atmosphere heavily charged with C.O_2 gas from the sponges and S.O. gas from the oven, must invariably sooner or later bring on chest and throat diseases. The uncleanly habits of many operatives aggravate these complaints. Some operatives leave their work at night, go straight to bed, and come direct from there next morning to work, without even making a pretence of washing themselves. In some cases where the men are of cleanly disposition, the lavatory accommodation is so limited that they are constrained to wash themselves in buckets and other utensils kept for carrying the water used in the manufacture of bread; and I have known cases where the water in which the baker has washed the flour from his face and the dough from his arms thrown into a batch of bread, so economical are some master bakers that even the little waste entailed in the men keeping clean is resented. This would be intolerable even if baking sterilised bread, and until a few years ago it was popularly supposed that the intense heat to which the loaf was subjected in the oven, **did** kill any germs of disease which might find their way into the dough during the process of kneading and moulding. Like most popular assumptions, this theory, born as it was in ignorance, died quite suddenly with the advance of scientific knowledge. The investigations of Drs. F. J. Waldo, M.A., M.D. and David Walsh, the results of which were reported at the Bristol meeting of the British Medical Association in the year 1894, for ever effectively disposed of it. Without going into details the results of Drs. Waldo and Walsh's investigations demonstrated beyond doubt that 13 kinds of **micro-organisms can be cultivated in the interior of ordinary loaves.**

Think of that ye purchasers of bread manufactured under insanitary conditions and by diseased operatives, and if you then defend the present system you deserve no pity if calamity in the shape of disease overtake you.

ADVANTAGES OF MUNICIPALIZATION.

The fact that micro-organisms can exist in bread after it has been subjected to the fiery ordeal of the oven renders it possible for the consumer to get smallpox and fever with his whole meal loaf, and influenza with his hot roll; for his toothsome pastry and rich fruit and seed cake to be impregnated with consumption and diphtheria bacteria, and, by way of compensation for short weight, his common white loaf to contain the germs of all five.

If municipilization of bread could offer no other advantage,

the fact that this danger would be reduced to a minimum should be sufficient inducement to people to approve of this system ; all the dirty, insanitary, ill-lighted, ill-ventilated, verminous, stifling, bad-smelling dens, that at present exist as apologies for bakehouses, and in which tons of the bread at present eaten is manufactured, would be closed, and an up-to-date building erected in their stead in the healthiest part of the town and fitted with all the latest labor saving machinery and sanitary appliances that the mechanical and sanitary sciences have placed at our service. At present, notwithstanding the existence of dough machines and steam ovens, quite three-parts of the bread manufactured is hand kneaded, and baked in the wasteful old-fashioned ovens, the small capitalist who still monopolizes the greatest part of the bread industry, being as a rule too poor to substitute for the older methods of kneading and baking, the cleaner and more economical ones that the advancement of mechanical science has given the world. The town or city council, with its long purse and immense borrowing power, could succeed where in many cases the private trader has failed, and if no other advantage accrued, the cost of production would be lessened. But it is in distribution that under the present system the greatest waste takes place : the population of a street containing a hundred houses is frequently supplied with the staff of life by a dozen or more bakers, some coming many miles from their shops to serve customers next door to a trade rival, who could, perhaps, better supply his neighbour's wants. A glaring instance of this exists in Birmingham ; a large firm of bakers in the neighbouring town of Smethwick, sends its vanman right across Birmingham into Saltley, a distance of some six miles, to serve customers who might be at least as well served by scores of local tradesmen. What a waste of time and energy ! How different to the delivery, by a State organized staff, of the people's letters. One does not go to one's front door for his morning letters, and find his next door neighbour at No. 5 receiving his from a second postman, his neighbour No. 3 from a third, his business rival at No. 6 from yet a fourth, while two dirty little urchins with a dilapidated basket-carriage are delivering to the barmaid at the "Pig and Whistle" her billet d' amour. On the contrary, one finds that the postman who brings resident at No. 3 his letters also brings No. 4, 5 and 6 theirs, and that the landlord and his servants at the "Pig and Whistle" down the street received theirs through the same medium, notwithstanding the fact that, perhaps, he is a total abstainer. This system could as well be adapted to loaves of bread as to letters ; a motor-van full of bread could be driven into a street at one end, and every householder supplied with what bread he wanted by a vanman, helped if thought necessary by an assistant, calling from door to door, up one side and down the other. When the wants of all the residents had been supplied, the van could then pass on to the next street, and the process be repeated.

In the poorer districts, where the inhabitants could not afford to pay the extra cost that delivering bread at the door entails, a reasonable number of municipal bread depots might be established from which the workman's wife could purchase her loaf as she now does from the private trader. But as a preliminary to this sensible arrangement, it is necessary that there should be but one firm of bakers in a town, and that the people themselves in their organized capacity, acting through their popularly elected administration.

With the bread industry in the hands of the town or city council, all diseased operatives could be eliminated by pensioning them off or finding for them other occupations, and none but those of good habits, and who could produce a clean certificate of health allowed to work at bread making. How different to the present state of affairs! The gravity of the case may be gathered from the following account, taken from the "British Baker," 25/12/03, quoting Drs. Waldo and Walsh in "Bread Bakehouses and Bacteria":—

"The lot of the journeyman baker is neither a healthy nor an enviable one. From the nature of his occupation he is placed in an environment that saps his strength and too often makes him prematurely aged. His face is thin and pale, 'and his whole look is suggestive of chronic ill-health.'"

Dr. Ogle's tables of comparative mortality of males between twenty-five and sixty-five years of age, testifies to the want of good health among operative bakers. In one hundred different occupations bakers occupy the following relative position. In suicide they come third; in alcoholism, seventh; in liver disease, eleventh; and in diseases of the nervous system, twelfth.

Dr. William A. Guy, M.D., fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, thirty years earlier in his evidence before the sanitary Commissioners, testifies to even a worse state of affairs, and speaking from experience I should say that the worst has not been told about the health—or want of it—of journeymen bakers. My memory does not take me back 50 years, but it takes me to Ashby-de-la Zouch. I was sent by the A.U.O.B. and C. to organise the operative bakers at this little Leicestershire town, and I could not find a single operative whose health was good enough to allow of his being nominated for membership for his trade union, the A.U.O.B. and C. demanding that all applicants for membership shall be in a fair state of health when proposed.

I have been told that I really ought to know better than harrow my readers' feelings with nauseating details of insanitary bakehouses and diseased and unclean operatives. If my style is a little realistic I sin in good company, since the same charge is made against Mr. Upton Sinclair. I can assure my critics the only apology I am likely to make will take a Voltairean form, some more in the original vein, and I put in the following letter:

"Dear Griffin,—I could take you to a modern factory

within the vicinity of the Stratford Town Hall, where a gang of men are employed making bread. Among them is a poor old fellow, and as he works there runs a continued stream of saliva from his mouth, dropping on the dough he moulds. As this particular gang's normal working week is about 90 hours, we may imagine how much bread is infected.—Yours fraternally,
 “W—.”

And these, fellow countrymen, are the men who make your daily bread! You are actually worse off than the felon in prison, for there every man who is to be employed in the bake-house has to satisfy the prison doctor that he is not suffering from baker's itch or other skin disease. No such precautions are taken on behalf of the general public, and since the private trader does not care enough for your health to see that the men he employs to prepare your food are in good health, it is time you took the matter into your own hands.

You could then take care that only healthy persons were engaged in this important occupation, **and that they pursued their occupation under such conditions that their health was not unnecessarily endangered.**

WOULD A MUNICIPAL BREAD SUPPLY PAY?

The answer is in the affirmative; it would pay well, in fact few industries better. In the hands of the small capitalist, who is restricted by his very limited capital, and forced to rely on antiquated methods of manufacture and a wasteful system of distribution, the industry at present time is being run at a profit of 25 per cent. Proof? Certainly.

	s.	d.
The average cost of a sack of flour, containing 28olbs., is	25	0
Salt, yeast, fuel, and sundries used in converting it into bread	1	6
Cost of labour, on the very highest scale, to convert a sack of flour into bread	3	6
Total cost of producing 96 quartens of bread	30	0
96 quartens of bread at 5d. per 4lb. loaf would come to 5x96—480d.	40	0
Excess of selling over producing cost of 96 quartens of bread	10	0
Deduct for cost of distributing	2	0
And their remains as net profit	8	0

A profit of 8/- on 32/- is by no means bad, and it is capable of being considerably augmented by the adoption of the up-to-date production and distribution already referred to. But suppose it is not, it is, as already stated, a profit of 25 per cent. What

would this mean in a town of 60,000 families? On an average a family consumes a quartern of bread daily, so that 60,000 families would consume 60,000 quarterns; calculated on a basis of 96 quarterns to the sack, this would equal 625 sacks of flour at 8/- profit per sack, which is 8/- x 625, or £250 profit per day = £91,250 profit per annum.

Would a municipal bread supply pay, when in a town containing 60,000 families it is possible to make £91,250 profit per annum?

Municipalities are frequently prevented from embarking on housing and other schemes for want of funds. The erection of artisans' dwellings, for instance, in many towns is indefinitely postponed until our House of Land Lords will sanction the taxation of land values. Why wait? The said municipalities have only to go into business as bakers and confectioners and in a few years they might save enough out of the profits of their business to embark on a big housing scheme without borrowing a penny for it, £91,250 saved every year for ten years, for instance, without interest would at the end of that time amount to £912,500, a percentage of which would of course have to be used to purchase new plant as the old became useless with age.

HOW CAN IT BE DONE?

In municipalizing the bread industry town councils would not, metaphorically speaking, be journeying into an unknown, unmapped country, devoid both of roads and finger-posts to assist the traveller, as municipal bakeries have been tried in the Italian Town of Catania. Catania has a population of 160,000 inhabitants, so can claim to be no mean city, and some two years ago the Town Council representing the citizens entered into an agreement with all the bakers (large and small) in the city under which* the council became the sole producer of bread, while the bakers were simply to carry out the duties of distributors. The plan worked so well that it invoked praise from the Milan papers, which spoke highly of it, and affirmed that consumers got bread of the best quality at the lowest price, that is, a fraction above cost price, and that the economic and moral conditions of the journeymen bakers and distributors were improved.

There is nothing to prevent an English Corporation from following the example of Catania. A few preliminaries would be necessary, it is true; 1st, a Bill promoted in Parliament to get the necessary powers. This should be no more difficult than obtaining powers to construct tramways. 2nd, The erection of a municipal bread factory sufficiently large to cope with all demands likely to be made upon it; for this, money would have to be borrowed, but that should be no more difficult than borrowing money for a water scheme. 3rd, The engagement of a manager to run the factory, and as there already exist gigantic

private bread factories, run by managers, he should be easily obtained; many good managers would be pleased to exchange the service of a private company for that of a City or Town Council. It should only require a Town Council composed of councillors of ordinary intelligence to accomplish these matters.

The establishment of municipal bakeries and organisation of a municipal bread supply would not involve a tenth of the labour and preparation that some other municipal industries which have been successfully undertaken in many towns have involved. Take a municipal water scheme, for instance, such as has lately been brought to a successful issue by the Birmingham Corporation. There were springs to be fenced in and protected from pollution, dams to erect, reservoirs to construct, aqueducts, pumping stations to build, and hundreds of miles of pipe to lay. The establishment of municipal bakeries involves nothing to compare with these difficulties, successfully overcome. The erection of a bread factory, for which dozens of firms of architects would be glad to prepare plans, would be the principal difficulty.

That done, and a capable manager installed, the rest would be easy. When the bakeries had been got into working order and things were running smoothly, the distribution of the bread could be organised, the town divided and sub-divided, depots established and district managers appointed. This done, municipal bakeries and bread supplies will have become an accomplished fact.

Perhaps here a short account of how it was done in Catania will prove of interest. The account is taken from "No. 592, Miscellaneous Series, Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Italy. Report on the Municipalization of Bakeries at Catania."

This report was presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Majesty in June, 1903. A copy may be purchased from Messrs. Eyre & Spottiswoode for the sum of one halfpenny.

"As early as 1884 a municipal committee was established for the purpose of regulating the price of bread upon a basis of a tariff arrived at by enquiries, renewed fortnightly, into the price of corn, flour, etc. The master baker had, however, induced various successive commercial councils to take as their criterion for the price of bread, not the price of corn, but that of flour only, because, as they averred, the millers kept up the price of flour artificially. In this way, the effect of the 'calmieve,' as this regulation for fixing the price of bread by the municipality is called, was to some extent frustrated, and frequent protests were made by the population, who clamoured for a new tariff. These protests were favourably considered by the municipal council, who, as a result of a new inquiry, reduced the prices of bread in October, 1902, to first quality, 35c. per kilo; second quality, 30c. per kilo; third quality, 24c. per kilo; whereas the prices that had ruled in July in that year were—first, 41c.; second, 32c.; and third, 25c. per kilo respectively.

"Upon this the *master bakers declared in favour of a general strike*. The council then, in order to prevent the population from suffering from absolute want, determined to undertake the baking business on their own account, although they were entirely unprepared to do so. They therefore intimated to the master bakers that they would take their bakeries on lease at a reasonable rent. In the meantime they leased for an annual rent of 5,550 lire (£220) a large steam

"bakery belonging to Brothers Prinzi, and started baking without delay, selling bread at the prices established in October. The question of municipal bakeries was then put to a popular referendum, and accepted practically unanimously; and the council, thus encouraged, raised the output of the Pringi Bakery to its highest possible maximum, and was thus able to close eight of the smaller bakeries which they had leased, with considerable saving of expense. They were thus put in a position to build 20 new ovens at a cost of 300 lire each, and to buy a kneading machine from Germany *

INDIVIDUALISM IS PLAYED OUT.

The progress of mechanical science has made the change from individualism to collectivism not only possible, but necessary and inevitable. Let us see how.

The earliest machine used by man to cast a projectile at an enemy was the sling, a weapon that the individual warrior could and did manipulate. David used a sling single-handed against Goliath. It is a far cry from the sling to the modern quick-firing field gun, but the latter has arrived, and that arrival has brought in its train another change, a change from individual to co-operative manipulation of the man-slaying machine. The modern field piece demands a number of men, properly organised, each with his separate duties assigned to him, to effectively work it. The General who demanded a field gun for each of his artillery men would be laughed at.

What has happened in the military world is destined to take place in the realm of loaves and cakes. When the necessary tools for bread making consisted of an old-fashioned oven, a trough, boiler, a few peels, pair of scales and a basket carriage or handbarrow, the individual baker could, and frequently did, manipulate them single-handed. He carried his flour into the bakehouse, made it into loaves, set the loaves to bake, and finally wheeled the bread round to his customers' doors. The tools used at each of these processes were so simple that they did not necessarily demand co-operative manipulation, but when we come to the age of huge dough machines, moulding machines, demanding mill power, electric ovens,† motor delivery vans, co operative labour becomes necessary and inevitable. Imagine a single individual in a small way of business having his bake-house fitted with an electric-heated oven, a dough moulding machine,

* The famous municipal bakery of Catania (Italy) is about to go into liquidation. The institution has been in existence since 1902. When the proposal was first mooted by the Socialistic Municipal Council, it was submitted by referendum to the people, who ratified it by 5,209 votes to 145. The undertaking, however, was too heavily loaded financially; it paid high wages and established an eight hours day; but charged 30 per cent. less than the former price for the bread. It further handicapped itself by taking a great number of the former master bakers into its service, and thus the expenses were very heavy. The failure of this experiment must not be taken as evidence that a municipal bread supply is impossible, but only that the undertaking must be put upon a sounder business basis.---LABOUR LEADER.

† The electrical oven is now an accomplished fact. M. L. Roy, a French electrician, has succeeded in utilising electricity for baking purposes. The resistances which convert electrical current into heat are distributed on a circular grating suspended by a chain in the middle of the oven, and it is raised and lowered to suit requirement. Bread baked so costs 6d. per 100 lbs. of electrical current. Electrical ovens are said to be working at Grenoble and Paris.

a dynamo to produce electricity, an engine to drive the dynamo, boilers to generate steam for engine, and a motor van to deliver bread, all with the intention of manipulating these machines single-handed. As Euclid would say, "it is absurd." These machines, from their very nature, demand division of labour and co-operative manipulation. A machine, or series of machines, that demand co-operative manipulation also demand collective ownership. So that to collectivism we must come, time and economic forces demand it.

But to what collectivism? Is it to be a commercial collectivism, where the tools and raw materials will be the property of a class? Is it to be the collectivism of limited liability companies, whose sole aim will be dividends, whose methods will be sweating and adulteration, etc., Packing Town in all its glory; where the workers will be under-paid, over-worked, ill-fed, badly housed, miserably clad slaves who dare not call their souls their own, subject to the brutal despotism of their capitalist lords? Or shall it be a social collectivism, where the tools and raw materials, regarded as the means of life, will be the property of the whole community, where "operatives" will be free craftsmen taking a loving interest in their work, where wealth will be produced for the use of society and not for the use of a class, where every man, woman and child will have liberty, and enough of all that will enable them to live a healthy, complete, human life? It is for the worker to decide. The small tradesman is doomed in any case, dynamic forces, inherent in present society, will wipe him out, and the future lies between Socialism and Chicagoism: the state of society depicted by Morris and Bellamy, and that described in Upton Sinclair's "Jungle."

A PLEA FOR THE OPERATIVES.

Because the consideration of the operatives has been left until the last it must not be assumed that they are deemed of minor importance. That is far from being the case; in fact one of the great differences between Socialists and economists of the commercial school is that while the latter's chief concern is profit, no matter from what source obtained, we are concerned about the welfare of the workers. A state of things "where wealth accumulates and men decay," would find no place in our social system; we attach not so much importance to the "wealth of nations," as to the health, happiness, and well-being of peoples. The latter cannot be secured while the vast majority are overworked and badly paid, and it would be somewhat difficult to find a worse paid, harder worked body of workers than journeymen bakers. Evidence of this abounds on every hand. We'll take a little. The Secretary of the Jewish bakers, in giving evidence before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, said that "Jewish operative bakers worked from 106 to 120 hours *per week*." Think of that, ye engineers who

have got a 53 hour week. ~~the~~ Jewish bakers work more than double those number of hours. It's a wonder that the excessive toil does not kill them, is it not? Well! it certainly *would* be strange if death from overwork did not occur, but the king of terrors does intervene to end the miserable existence of these unfortunate fellows, speaking of whose lot a prominent London Newspaper said that the "lot of a negro slave was a mere holiday when compared with the degrading toil of the journey-men bakers." A recent case of death from overwork is that of Henry F. Soutter, who actually died at work. At the coroner's inquest held on his body, it was ascertained that Soutter worked 15 hours per day 5 days per week; and on Friday 26 hours without a break, and on Sunday from 9 a.m. to 1.30 p.m. His wages were 32/- per week. The employer, in answer to questions by the coroner, said that "the men's hours varied, they had a rest, *and slept in the troughs.*" Pause right here and consider! A human being put to death by overwork! Certified by a coroner's jury to have been killed by excessive toil, and no one sent for trial for wilful murder. What is the moral difference between killing a man on the highway to facilitate robbing him, and working a man to death to increase one's profits? Furthermore, if the receiver of stolen goods is as bad as the thief, will some Solomon fix the degree of guilt between the tradesman who sweats his employees to death, and the customer who buys that tradesman's wares?

I don't wish it to be understood that all journeymen bakers work 106 hours per week, things are a little better than this, notwithstanding the fact that a Dudley employer occasionally works his men 25 hours at a stretch, and then warns them not to be late in coming to sponge. This, of course, is an extreme case, all employers are not so exacting; the last one I worked for, prior to my becoming organiser to the A.U.C.B. & C., considered that something less than one-third of 25 hours was a fair day's work. (This was an opposite extreme. I like these latter extremes though!)

The actual number of hours journeymen bakers work, I should say from personal observation, taking an average, vary from 70 to 75 per week—"Britons never shall be slaves." The Bakers' Trade Union recognise 60 hours, including meal times, as constituting a week's work, but to their disgrace be it said, the majority of bakers are outside their union; and while some non-unionists work under union conditions, they are but a very small minority. Now a word about their wages. The London Trade Union rate of wages is 36/- per week for forehands, 30/- for second hands, and 27/- for all other adult hands. The London rate is the highest paid, and taking the country through, I should say there are far more men working for 22/- per week than there are working for the London Union rate; and, strange as it may appear, the longest hours are worked by

the worst paid. Non-unionist workmen are at the mercy of their employers, who fix the hours and wages to their (the employers') liking.

To be quite fair, in the question of rate of wages and hours of labour of British Operative Bakers, I should mention that Mr. John Jenkins, the General Secretary of A.U.O.B. & C., is of the opinion that the rate of wages is somewhat higher than I give above and the hours of toil lower. Mr. Jenkins is in an excellent position to judge of the rate of pay and hours of toil of Trade Union Operatives, but the majority of journeymen bakers are non-unionist. Mr. Jenkins' long and honourable connection with the Trade Union movement entitles him to a respectful hearing, at the same time it is easy to be mistaken; so, in the absence of authority, the reader must make his own observations and form his own opinion. Both Mr. Jenkins and myself agree that operative bakers are disgracefully overworked and underpaid.

All Socialists should make a point of ascertaining whether their bread comes from a union shop, or a sweating den where the operatives are being worked to death; and, if they find that hitherto they have unconsciously been supporting the latter class of tradesmen, change their baker at once. This may, perhaps, seem but a small matter, but really it is a most important one, for if only the public would boycott the sweater, not only would deaths from overwork in the bakehouse not occur, but perchance the operative baker would get more leisure: more time to spend with his wife and children, to improve himself physically and mentally, and, if he wished, to study the truths of Socialism and so, maybe, become a co-worker with us, in building up that grand industrial commonwealth where the tools and raw materials will have ceased to be the property of a class, but will be owned collectively by the whole community and used for the benefit of the entire human race.

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Municipal Milk Supply.

By Councillor A. W. SHORT.

LONDON: Published by the Independent Labour Party, 10, Red
Lion Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 1905.

A Municipal Milk Supply.

ONE of the most pressing problems which faces the social reformer to-day, is the need of a pure and adequate supply of wholesome milk. At every age of life modern sanitary science has succeeded in reducing the death rate, except in that first year when milk is the natural, and should be, almost, the only food.

Since the adoption of the Public Health Act of 1855 the death rate of London has fallen from nearly 30 per 1,000 to 21·4 per 1,000 in 1891, although the population has increased from less than 2,500,000 to 4,221,452. During the same period the infant mortality rate (infants under one year of age) for England and Wales has shown a slight increase. In 1904 it was for the whole country 146 per 1,000. For 76 great towns it was 160, and in 142 smaller towns 154. Medical men are agreed that all over 100 per 1,000 are preventible. They are equally agreed that nearly all the preventible cases of death of infants under one year are due to improper feeding and impure milk.

Dr. Hope, the Medical Officer of Health for Liverpool, in his report for 1902, in dealing with the subject, says, that "after making due allowance for the various causes, such as premature births, malformations, &c., that militate against the chances of life of infants under twelve months, it may be taken that a death rate of 100 per 1,000 is unavoidable." It however goes up to 107 per 1,000 in the very best districts of the city, where the best and purest foods are obtainable, and the best care and nursing may be presumed. In the districts where it is highest, however, it goes up to 245 per 1,000. In 1903 the lowest infant mortality ever reached was recorded, 159 per 1,000 for the whole of Liverpool, or over one third of the total deaths due to preventible causes in the most favourable year. During the year 1902 the total number of deaths of infants under 12 months was 3,936, and of these the Medical Officer attributes the large proportion of 1,388 to diseases directly attributable to improper feeding. According to the annual report of the M. O. H. of Bootle, for 1904 the infant mortality rate of the whole town was 181 per 1,000 while in 1900 it was 204, in 1901, 183, in 1902, 154, and in 1903, 161 per 1,000 births. Dealing with this question of infant mortality Dr. Barlow says, "generally speaking, an infantile mortality rate of about 100 may be considered normal." Every M. O. H. in the country has the same story to tell; an alarming proportion of preventible deaths of young infants, a fearful wastage of the life assets of the country, a slaughter of the innocents beside which that of Herod fades into utter insignificance.

That an impure or over weak milk supply is chiefly to blame is shown by the one fact that it is at the age when milk constitutes the sole or nearly the sole food that the mortality is greatest. In Liverpool the average death rate taken over a period of years of infants under one year of age was 178 per 1,000, an excess largely due to improper cows' milk, as is proved by the result of investigations made by the Medical Officer of Health, in connection with the members of the Liverpool Medical Institution, which showed that out of every 1,000 infants under three months naturally fed upon breast milk alone, 20 died of autumnal choleric disease, but of the same number at the same age, artificially fed, instead of 20 no less than 300 died from this cause. Similarly between 3 and 6 months, and 6 and 9 months, there was an immensely larger proportion of deaths among artificially fed than among breast fed children, though the proportion diminished with advancing age.

In his report for 1904, just issued, Dr. Hope sets out in parallel columns the striking difference in the death rates between those below and those above one year of age. And in this as in other public health matters Liverpool compares favourably with other large towns and may be taken as a fair example.

		Death Rate per 1,000.	
		Below one year of age.	Above one year of age.
Average of the 3 years 1900-2	...	178	16.7
During 1903.	...	159	15.0
" 1904.	...	196	15.9

And under this table Dr. Hope reports: "For many years very particular and special attention has been given to maintain the purity of the milk supply." And he goes on to detail all that is done; which is all that can be done, under the powers at present possessed by local authorities. And the ghastly failure is admitted in an earlier part of the report which records the death of 1,200 infants under one year from zymotic diarrhoea, a disease which in nearly every case is set up by poisoned milk.

And while this terrible preventible waste of infant life is going on, the birth rate is steadily declining. Dr. T. Eustace Hill, President of the Northern branch of the Incorporated Society of Medical Officers of Health, and Medical Officer of Health for Durham, in his Presidential address on February 24th, of this year, said, that "it was not generally recognised that while as a result of improved sanitary conditions the general death rate has declined from 23.3 to 17 per 1,000 of the population during the last 50 years, there had been no corresponding fall in the infant death rate through England and Wales, but rather an increase during the last 20 years. Later on he points out that the birth rate has been falling from 35.8 per 1,000 of the population in the quinquennium 1873-77, to 28.8 during the five years 1898-1902, while for 1903-4 the rate has still further fallen to 28.4 and 27.9 per 1,000, and he urges that if this state of things continues it will soon involve us in national bankruptcy, and there is no doubt that if the expenditure (death rate) continues high, and the income (birth rate) continues to decrease, the decay of the Empire has in-

evitably begun and no frothy ebullitions of patriotism or celebrations of Empire day by a dwindling quantity of school children can save it. It is idle to talk of race suicide, and inveigh against the shirking of paternal responsibilities, which the falling birth rate is supposed to imply, so long as we shirk our responsibilities to the children who are born, and allow them to be decimated by adulterated, drugged or microbe laden milk, at the very outset of their career, when milk is their only article of diet. Mr. Wetton calculates the reduction in the number of births for London alone at 26,000 per annum, or 500 weekly, and every year this increasingly valuable commodity of child life is being wastefully sacrificed at the same rate that prevailed 50 years ago.

There is no question as to the cause. In an appendix to the report of the Commission on Physical Deterioration there is a valuable report by Dr. Tatham, in which deaths from various diseases among infants under one year are tabulated for a group of urban counties with a population of 17,811,667, both for the quinquennium 1873-77 and the quinquennium 1898-1902, also for a group of rural counties with a population of 4,279,175. In the urban counties the infant mortality rate had increased, in the rural counties it had slightly decreased, the difference exceeding 30 per cent, the divergence being greatest in the latter period. In both cases *nearly 80 per cent of the total infant mortality was due to diarrhæal diseases*, and of the remaining 20 per cent a large proportion died from various diseases of malnutrition, in other words starvation from impure or adulterated food, which in this case means milk. Sir James Crichton Brown recently said: "The grave evils with which we are confronted, arise out of the insufficient and improper feeding of infants and children; and the principal factor of this improper and insufficient feeding is the want of an adequate supply of pure and wholesome milk." The writer of one of a series of articles which appeared in the "Daily Chronicle" on "Milk and Disease" some two years ago, reports an interview with the House Surgeon at "one of the largest children's Hospitals in the East-end, if not in the Metropolis." The doctor asks:—

"Why are half the children one sees in the East-end rickety or physically deteriorated? Because their nourishment is defective. Why is their nourishment defective? Because they can't get enough milk, and because what they do get is so contaminated as to be practically poisonous. What we doctors want to be able to prescribe to save hundreds upon hundreds of infant lives down here is not drugs, but milk. And this we can't do owing to the contamination of the milk supply."

"But the ignorance of the mother——" the writer once tried to object. The doctor turned on his heel and faced the objector squarely.

"Do you know," he said, "I am becoming just a little tired of that parrot ery. I don't mean to be rude, and it's a very smug and comfortable doctrine if one wants to shirk a responsibility. I am perfectly willing to admit that the ignorance of the mothers in anything connected with the proper upbringing of children is positively appalling. But my own experience is that once you have instructed her in what she ought to do, she will, with very few exceptions, do her very best within her narrow means. And it seems to me that *after* you have provided her with the possibility of obtaining non-poisonous milk would be the time to accuse her of ignorance, slovenliness, and all the rest of it. At present she can only buy

the filth the milk trade down here brings to her door. So it seems hardly cricket, does it?"

But not only are the public often overcharged for what this doctor describes as "filth," but there is an added danger to adults as well as children in the fact that many diseases have been traced to the ingestion of impure milk, including tuberculosis of the bowels, and epidemic diarrhoea, while it has been repeatedly proved to be a most fruitful source of contagion. At Ilford recently, they were threatened with an outbreak of diphtheria from an infected farm, which it cost £100 and stringent and prompt precautions on the part of the M.O.H. to stamp out. In reporting the case Dr. Stovin made this significant comment, "While the supervision of the country dairy farms is as at present, I am of opinion that the Council is never safe from some such experience." In June of last year, Dr. Robertson, M.O.H. of Leith, traced an outbreak of diphtheria to ulcers on the teats of cows on a farm which supplied four dairies. A number of cases were notified over a period extending from June 24th to October 16th. In June of last year there was an outbreak of scarlatina on the round of a milkman in Liverpool, who had on his list of customers 138 houses which furnished between January 30th and March 3rd, 59 cases, all owing to a boy of nine years in the dairyman's family suffering from an attack which commenced the 16th or 17th January, a little while before the first case was notified. A milkman, according to Dr. Harris, caused an outbreak of scarlet fever by wiping out his churns with a cloth, presumably infected, which he found lying about. Another outbreak was traced to the fact that a child whose hands were peeling handled the milk pails. In "Public Health" for last September, Dr. Harris, giving the results of a long series of experiments, states that scarlet fever cultures die out if made from agar to agar, but soon become more vigorous if passed through milk. Pure milk! As great a boon to the decrepit senility of the ubiquitous microbe as the toothless human.

E At the Copenhagen Congress, Dr. Nathan Raw, of Liverpool, found a practical unanimity of agreement with his statement that the two chief causes of tuberculous infection were: (1) By direct contact with advanced cases; (2) Infected milk from tuberculous cows; and while I am aware that there are still some authorities who accept the view expressed by Dr. Koch at the British Congress on tuberculosis in July, 1901, the interim report of the Royal Commission laid on the table of the House of Commons on May 31, 1903, plainly insists that bovine and human tuberculosis are identical and interchangeable. And at the International Congress on tuberculosis held in Paris at the beginning of October of this year, the point was pretty well cleared up, for at the conclusion of an interview with the discoverer of the "T.C." method of consumption cure I find it reported that "Dr. Behring paid the French the compliment of saying that the present congress had brought into prominence the fact that bovine tuberculosis is transmissible to human beings, the bovine bacilli being more dangerous to human beings than the bacilli of human tuberculosis,

thus upsetting the theories of the German, Dr. Koch, and proving the triumph of the French school."

The most elaborate and expensive precautions are taken in many places to eliminate tubercle infected cows from town shippens. In Bootle a quarterly veterinary inspection is made, and the tuberculin test is applied whenever a suspect is met with, with the result that 15 animals were removed from Bootle shippens last year which were unmistakably affected, and 6 removed out of the Borough by the advice of the Veterinary Surgeon without the test being applied. Yet out of 18 samples of milk sent for bacteriological examination, 1 was found to be tubercular, and 3 charged with bacillus coli, the evidence of dirt. And we must not overlook the fact that though the animals were removed from Bootle, it was only to some place where they were less strict, and their milk is still coming into Bootle probably, along with the large quantity of milk sent in from the country for local consumption. And having in mind the fact that a very large percentage of country cows suffer from tuberculosis of the udder, and that a great deal of country milk is sold at town shippens to make up short supply, the significance of Dr. Behring's statement will be realised. We are spending vast sums in building sanatoria for consumptives, we are holding great International Congresses to try and solve the problem of dealing with this fearful scourge effectually, and every town in the country is flooded with milk loaded with germs that spread the malady.

A side light on some of the ways in which contamination was spread by the methods of milk distribution was thrown by Dr. Vacher, M.O.H. for Cheshire, at the meeting of the North Western Centre of Sanitary Inspectors held at Manchester on October 7th. "Dr. Vacher said it was the custom of milk vendors to leave cans containing milk at the doors of their customers, to be taken in whilst they were delivering at other houses. Now, those milk cans might, through ignorance or thoughtlessness, be taken into a room where there was a case of infectious disease, and contagion might get to the can, which would be used, on its being collected by the milk vendor, for other customers without being cleansed in any way."

I have said that we are often overcharged for this prime necessity. I think I would be safe in saying that the overlapping and lack of organisation costs the customer at least 30 per cent. of what he pays for his milk. Almost within a stone's throw of my residence at Bootle are five dairies and several shop retailers, and yet carts pass my door daily from the other end of the borough, and several "dandy men" peddle railway milk in the district. On a recent Sunday afternoon I counted no less than 13 shandries and floates delivering milk in the street in which I live. This means an enormous waste of capital and energy, the cost of which comes out of the pockets of the consumer, and when to this is added the cost of inspection, veterinary, sanitary and police, we realise that we are paying very dearly for what is too often not only an inferior article but an absolutely dangerous one.

The problem is how are we to obtain a reasonably cheap supply of this wholesome and often necessary food, while at the same time

securing a sufficiently high percentage of fats and solids and the minimum of micro-organisms with an entire absence of disease germs, due to contamination or infection. Whether the present recognised standard is sufficiently high is an open question. Sir Chas. Cameron thinks it should be reduced from 3 per cent. of fat and 8·5 per cent. of non-fatty solids, to 8·5 per cent. of solids not fat, and 2·7 per cent. of fat, taken as a minimum.

But, whatever the consensus of opinion might be as to the desirability of a higher standard, it will be generally admitted, I think, that it would be practically impossible to raise the present one, under existing conditions. It will also be equally readily admitted that a higher standard and a much better quality than is now generally met with could readily be obtained under improved conditions of production. But while it is very desirable and of some importance that a high standard of quality should be attained, the question of supreme importance is the one of purity. This, under present conditions, cannot possibly be guaranteed. That it might be very considerably improved by more efficient inspection goes without saying; but even inspection carried to such a length as to be open to the charge of persecution, leaving aside the question of expense, could not guarantee that in the case of milk produced at local shippens, the cattle, and those employed about them, and in the handling of the milk, were absolutely clean; while in the case of railway milk, even if we could be sure that it was produced under ideal conditions, the treatment it receives in transit militates very much against its purity and freshness, and so long as the railways in most cases insist on unsealed cans, so that they may be able to measure the milk, it is at the mercy of any unscrupulous person, besides being liable to contamination from objectionable goods in its vicinity, or from impure air. On arriving at its destination, it is usually taken to the factories of the wholesale dealers, to be cooled and dealt with, and frequently large doses of water, not always clean, are added, and in some instances—where the supply runs short—it is made up by diluted, unsweetened, condensed milk.

It is the practice of some wholesale dealers to add large quantities of water, and when the retailer happens to be convicted and fined, to pay the fine, which only very imperceptibly diminishes the enormous profits which can be made in this manner.

The present system of the registration of milk houses is no safeguard against either the adulteration or pollution of railway milk, nor can it provide any guarantee that the milk has not come from farms with a contaminated water supply, or other insanitary conditions, or where some infectious disease may be prevalent, or in its most dangerous stage, upon the person of the milker. The plan adopted by Manchester, and some other provincial towns, of inspecting farms supplying the town, may be dismissed as clumsy, costly and inefficient. At Ilford—as a result of the recent outbreak to which I have alluded—it is proposed to register farms which meet the approval of the M.O.H., but this can only at best apply to a portion of the milk supplied, and while fairly adequate for a small town, is out of the question

in the case of large towns. The M.O.H. of Manchester reports that the farms in "Cheshire, Derbyshire and Staffordshire, he had inspected, were, with few exceptions, totally unfitted for dairy farms," and yet the milk goes somewhere, and it is practically impossible to change the conditions to any appreciable extent by inspection.

There is only one solution to the problem, and that is the complete municipalisation of the entire milk supply. There is no other way. When it was discovered that contaminated sources of water supply were the cause of great typhoid fever epidemic every large town outside of London municipalized its water supply, with the result that epidemics of typhoid fever are practically abolished and the general death rate has been reduced. We have far more serious charges to bring against milk, and far better and more important results to anticipate from its municipalization and yet we tinker with the problem and waste vast sums of money on useless or at any rate inefficient expedients. Water as we received it 50 years ago was an innocuous draught compared with the milk we receive to-day.

It has been shown by Dr. Park that when cows have been thoroughly cleaned and placed in clean barns before milking, the long hairs on the udders clipt, and the udders wiped, the hands of the milkers washed and dried, and the pails thoroughly cleansed and sterilized, that the number of bacteria did not exceed 4,330 per cubic centimetre (about 17 drops) shortly after milking and that this milk if kept at a temperature of 45° F. only contained 2,766 bacteria per cubic centimetre in 24 hours, and 10,583 in 48 hours. Where the barns were dusty but the cows clean, the milker's hands wiped but not washed, and the milk cooled to 45° F, within two hours, the number of bacteria present shortly after milking was 15,500 per cubic centimetre; in 24 hours it was 21,666; and in 48 hours 76,000. Where milk was obtained in the ordinary way from cows more or less dirty, with manure on the floor and the teats simply wiped with the milker's hands, the number of bacteria found shortly after milking in winter was 16,650, in summer 30,366. After 24 hours the number had increased to 31,000 for winter milk, 48,000 for summer, and that after 48 hours the figures for winter milk were 210,000 and for summer milk 680,000. These investigations prove the importance of the utmost cleanliness and such conditions as we cannot expect to find in the ordinary shippens, where the dairymen do not appreciate their importance and are anxious only to dodge the inspector and put their milk on the market with as little trouble and as small expense as possible.

An attempt to deal with the problem of the milk supply in relation to infantile mortality by producing humanized and sterilized milk has long been the custom of municipalities in France. This system was introduced into this country some years ago at St. Helens, by Dr. F. Drew Harris, and afterwards adopted by Liverpool, Ashton-under-Lyne, Bradford, Battersea and other places. The results have been very encouraging and have done much to reduce the rate of mortality *where it has been used*. But there are three great objections to this method of dealing with the problem. First: Its cost. Since its adoption in Liverpool in 1900 to 1904, no less than

£14,227 19s. 7d. has been spent on the municipal milk depots of Liverpool all of which are simply rented premises. The sale of milk has produced £5,959 7s. 2d. so that the balance on the wrong side on December 31st, 1904, to which the figures date, was £8,268 12s. 5d. Against this we have to set the cost of sterilizing machines, bottles, and depot fittings, which however, after allowing for depreciation would not very appreciably reduce the £8,000 odd of an adverse balance which has been incurred to feed 8,481 infants during the whole period. Secondly: The people who most need this municipal mothering are the most difficult to induce to adopt it. And thirdly: it has been pretty well established that scurvy, and scurvy ricketts are induced by the use of sterilized milk. Drs. de Rothschild and Abramoff have made a series of investigations which go to prove that some bone forming principle is destroyed by the heat to which the milk is subjected, and though we do not know what the exact change is, they have demonstrated the result, while Dr. Netter has recently drawn attention to the fact that prolonged heating diminished the citric acid in milk and as it is essentially an anti-scorbutic he contends that its removal, or partial removal causes or encourages "Barlow's disease." Sterilized milk is then only a partial success, and at best a somewhat costly experiment, yet still more costly to the community and far less effective is the drastic method adopted by the city of New York Health Department last September. Alarmed by the enormous death-rate amongst the infants of the city, they spilled large quantities of milk in the streets because the temperature was above 50 degrees. About 3,000 cans were run down the drains in a single night, and a whole train-load condemned on arrival in the city, with the result that there was a serious milk famine in certain districts. It is just as important that the supply should be adequate as that it should be pure.

Sir James Crichton Brown in a report on over pressure in elementary schools which was ordered to be printed by the House of Commons some 20 years ago, said:—"These half-starved children want blood and we offer them a little brain polish, they ask for bread and receive a problem, for milk, and the tonic sol-fa system is introduced to them. One cannot look at them without speculating how their sluggish or merely snappish intellects would brighten up and strengthen in grasp, could each of them have but two pints of new milk a day." This he admits is a large order, for it would take some 200,000 gallons to supply the children on the school roll in London, yet in 1890 it was estimated that the whole supply for London was only 133,000 gallons per day, which may be said to be less than adequate.

In his presidential address to the Sanitary Inspectors' Association in May of last year, Sir James reiterated the opinion expressed 20 years before, and went further, for the whole lengthy address pressed home the need for a much fuller supply of milk. His concluding words are worth quoting "There is no specific, no infallible homoea, that will touch the spot and make mankind whole. Degeneration has many roots, wide spreading, deep striking. It must be attacked on many sides, and one way of limiting its ravages is by insuring an

adequate supply of milk for the multitude." And yet at that time his remedy was to look "to private enterprise, responding to a growing public demand, that we must look to increase the demand." But I have reason to think he has changed his views on this point. I feel sure it is no breach of confidence to say that after a paper read at the Preventive Medicine section of the Health Congress in London last July, of which section he was the Chairman, in which I advocated the municipalization of the supply, Sir James in thanking me for my contribution to the discussions, said that he quite agreed with my views and believed that municipalization must come. "You are only a little ahead" he added, and in his capacity as Chairman he warmly took up the cudgels against a delegate from Blackrock, Ireland who tried to ridicule the idea. I should be indeed proud could I suppose that I had made a convert of such a distinguished authority, though I have good reason to believe that he is not the only well-known man who has assumed a different attitude towards this subject as a result of the discussions at the last two Health Congresses.

Important as the matter is when we consider the infants under one year of age, it is only slightly less important that children of all ages should have sufficient supply of this wholesome food in a pure state. As Sir James said in the address alluded to "the question of milk supply claims priority over that of education." It is useless to spend money on educating children who have not the physical capacity to assimilate it, nay, worse, it is inflicting on them untold injury.

Ricketts are present in some degree in 50 to 80 per cent of all the children passed under review at the clinics of London Hospitals, and ricketty and anæmic children are I am afraid forming an increasing proportion of those of our industrial population.

Someone has said that the best way to purify the milk supply for infants is to pass it through the human mother. But very often the mother finds it altogether too dear and unattainable a luxury, and finds herself unable to discharge those functions adequately which nature intended that she should. The proportion of breast-fed infants is rapidly decreasing, largely I am afraid owing to circumstances that society, however responsible, is unable under present conditions to control. At a conference on the prevention of infant mortality held at St. Pancras Town Hall last June, while great stress was laid upon the inculcation of breast feeding whenever possible, it was recognised that there were an increasing number of cases where it was impossible, owing to the often ill-nourished condition of the mother, and the following, among other resolutions was unanimously adopted:—

"That the special precautions required in the production of cow's milk for infants should include . . . selection, testing and feeding of the cows, care in their pasturing, sheltering, tending, extreme cleanliness in milking, rigid antiseptic precautions, immediate refrigeration maintained during transport, and prompt dispatch, so that the number of micro organisms and lactic acid in the milk may be reduced to a minimum at the time of delivery, instead of hundreds of thousands and millions of organisms, and excess of lactic acid now to be found in so-called fresh milk."

This is the demand of medical science and experience, and it certainly cannot be met for the multitude by private enterprise. It is the duty of the administrator and man of affairs to devise a way. There is only one. In this matter the old proverb, "If you want a thing doing well, do it yourself," applies with peculiar force. If we want to save the nation from the bankruptcy of human life towards which we are rapidly drifting, if we want to secure the physical efficiency of the units that go to make up the Empire we must

Municipalise the Milk Supply. There is no other way.

The only question is—"Is it feasible?" Let us take a concrete example, and suppose we apply the principle to my own Borough of Bootle. The population is in round numbers 60,000, and the number of cows at present 432, kept in 31 shippens, each shippen averaging about 14 animals. In addition there are 34 registered dairies, with no cowsheds attached. These in many cases are hucksters' shops, where objectionable and strong smelling articles are sold along with milk in open vessels. Averaging three gallons a day per cow the 432 cows would yield 1,296 gallons, leaving 579 gallons of railway milk to be supplied by the small dealers and dandymen, allowing one gill per head per diem for the population.

The first point in considering a scheme of Municipalisation is the compensation of the 31 cow keepers on a satisfactory basis. Most of the other places could be gradually closed under the present bye-laws. The goodwill of the present cows may be put down at £10 each, or a total of £4,320. The value of the cows at £20 each total £8,640, or a total for purchase of present animals at £12,960. Capital would also have to be provided for the purchase of the buildings, horses, carts, &c., but while a loss might be incurred on some a profit would no doubt be made on others, so that this item would be simply a turn over, which need not just now enter into our calculations. We should also have to provide one large central shippen, from which the milk could be directly distributed by an organised system at least twice a day, on similar lines to the post office mail distribution. In order to supply each inhabitant with a halfpenny worth of milk, or one gill per day, we should require 625 cows, yielding three gallons each, the total cost of which at £20 each, with the goodwill of £4,320 on present animals, would be £16,820. For all other purposes we would require £19,125—not a large capital for a borough of sixty thousand inhabitants.

Let us submit a balance sheet, and see what the result would be:—

Estimated Capital Outlay required and Revenue therefrom, for the supply to a population of sixty thousand.

Capital outlay, say.—

Goodwill—

Goodwill on 432 cows, at £20 per head	...	...	£8,640
Purchase of 625 cows, at £20 per head	...	...	12,500

Buildings, Equipment, Horses and Carts—				
Equipment	...	...	...	625
Horses, Carts and Harness	...	...	...	480
Buildings—Central Building	...	...	...	12,500
12 Depots	...	...	...	1,200
				<u>14,805</u>
				£35,945

Revenue:—

Income from—				
Sale of Milk, 684,375 gallons at 1s. per gallon	...	...	...	34,219
Sale of Manure at £4 per cow	...	...	...	2,500
				<u>£36,719</u>

Expenditure on—				
Maintenance of Cows	...	...	...	16,250
Wages of Attendants	...	...	...	7,020
Uniform of Attendants	...	...	...	256
Salaries of Manager, Vet. Surgeon, and other Staff	...	...	...	1,000
Maintenance of Horses and purchase of stable requisites	...	...	...	260
Repair of Buildings	...	...	...	137
Rents, Rates, Taxes and Insurance	...	...	...	430
Wages of Depot Attendants	...	...	...	936
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	116
				<u>£26,405</u>

Gross Profit £10,314

Renewals:—

Cows	...	16,670	
Less Sales	...	11,232	
		<u>5,418</u>	
Buildings, Equipment, Horses & Goodwill		525	
		<u>5,943</u>	
Interest	...	...	1,258
			<u>7,201</u>

Net Profit £3,113

These figures, arrived at after careful calculation, based on facts which I believe are incontrovertible, show that the milk supply of the borough could be taken over and managed by the municipality on terms which would be welcomed by the present proprietors. The usual selling price of dairies in this neighbourhood is at best £25 to £30 per cow, which covers good-will, horse, shandry, and all equipment. I propose to pay fullest market price, and buy equipment on top of that, and, taking Summer and Winter prices, reduce the present retail price of the milk at least 1d. per quart. The result would be not only to save a great deal in the present cost of supervision by the Sanitary Department, but to provide a cheaper article, of absolutely unimpeachable quality; to reduce the rate of infantile mortality, and while relieving the rates 2d in the £, we would be able to pay off the whole of the capital invested inside 30 years. This is without making any allowance for increased population, or

increased consumption, which for the purposes of this estimate, have been placed at the very lowest figure.

Surely these results are worth our serious consideration. The figures, allowing for the slight modification which may be demanded by local circumstances, are applicable to any town of any size, for while in the case of a larger town more initial capital would be required the profits would be larger and it would the more quickly be repaid. What then but a criminal apathy or an unwarrantable prejudice is to prevent us giving every Urban District an absolutely pure milk supply?

We froth about Empire, and brag about its extent, and fly flags upon its summit, but until we do the only immediately practical thing possible to stem the awful tide of infantile mortality we are neglecting the foundations.

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INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY

PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT,

10, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

20th Thousand.

The Right to Work. .

By H. Russell Smart.



ONE PENNY.

**PUBLISHED BY THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY,
23, BRIDE LANE, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.**

This tract is issued with the endorsement of the Council of the Independent Labour Party, but for the opinions expressed therein the author is responsible.

The Right to Work.

IT is frequently stated that Socialism is impracticable, and the organised state a dream of visionary enthusiasts. Whether this be so or not, it is at least certain that every suggestion for dealing with social problems that has gained public approval has originated from Socialists, and is based on the principles of collectivism. So it is with the problem of the unemployed, the sweating industries, and the whole of those social diseases that are summed up in the Labour question. There is neither remedy nor hope of remedy save in Socialist organisation.

It is indisputable that modern poverty is artificial. It is neither the result of Divine anger nor the niggardliness of Nature. It is the product of the private ownership of land and capital by which men are prevented from earning their livings unless the proprietary class can make profit from their labour. The inevitable result of this system is that in all industries and at all times there are more men seeking employment than there is employment for. The consequent competition for work forces wages down to bare subsistence, causes hours of labour to be prolonged till they reach the limit of endurance, drags the wife from the home, the children from the playfield, and produces those horrors of physical and moral destitution that are the unsolved problems of modern industrial states.

The Independent Labour Party has put forward in its programme a method by which this evil may be remedied. It refuses to be satisfied with the temporary expedients that are hastily adopted by State or voluntary agencies in times of exceptional distress. No system of merely finding work for unemployed men can be successful while unemployment is being manufactured in increasing volumes. Even were the whole of the workless million transported to Canada or sunk in mid ocean on a voyage, our unregulated industrial methods would soon produce another million to take its place. Not only must State agency be evoked for the provision of work, but private industry must be so regulated that it will afford constant work and humane conditions to all those whom it employs. This may be effected partially by direct legislation, of which the Eight Hours Bill is the chief measure, and partially in an indirect manner by giving the alternative of State employment, or right to work.

The principle it is desired to establish may be illustrated by an example from an uncivilized community. Among the black tribes

of South Africa there are neither landlords nor game laws. The natives have access to veld and forest, and can support themselves by simple industry. They possess economic freedom without which the political liberty of the white labourer is but a mockery. This system has fixed in a very complete manner the conditions for the employment of black labour, for the mine owners and farmers, instead of paying wages based upon the competition of starving men, have had to offer a rate sufficient to induce the natives to leave their kraals.

The purpose of the Right to Work is to establish a civilized equivalent for this primitive freedom. Every citizen able and willing to work should be endowed with the privilege of demanding

STATE EMPLOYMENT

under conditions of which the following are the chief :—

(1) The work should be within the capacity of the average man to perform without special skill or previous training.

(2) It should be free from degrading conditions and insulting enquiries.

(3) It should be obtainable by all adults whether unemployed at the time of application or not.

(4) The labour time should not exceed forty-eight hours a week.

(5) A minimum wage should be definitely specified.

This last clause requires careful consideration, for it would affect the conditions of life of all engaged in British industry. Its indirect effect would be to make the minimum apply to every worker. It should therefore be fixed at such a sum that whilst it would be sufficient to support life on a scale of decency it would not unduly tax the resources of the capitalist system to afford it. Its money value should vary in localities according to the cost of living, but the purchasing power should be the same in all cases. Food and clothes cost practically the same in all districts. The chief items that cause a variation in the cost of living are rent and transit. These are generally a question of density of population, and the wage might be varied accordingly.

Both the London County Council and the Manchester City Council have fixed

A MINIMUM LIVING WAGE

for their employees of 24/- to 25/- a week. The former amount is the lowest sum upon which a man can support a family in a large town. Even then it must be a continuous wage, reckoned not by the week, but by the year, as all incomes should be calculated.

The object of the Right to Work is not merely to provide for the unemployed. Beyond the workless million there are twelve other millions living in a condition of penurious toil for which the term slavery is an understatement. The Right to Work would

effect a revolution in the lives of these unhappy people. So soon as they were provided with the opportunity of honourable employment they would begin to leave their occupations to take advantage of their new social rights. Employers, therefore, would be unable to retain labour except by offering terms equivalent to those provided by the public authority. The indirect effect of the Right to Work would therefore be to establish

Constant employment,

A normal working week of forty-eight hours,

A minimum living wage,

for all workers, and these conditions would form the low water mark of British industry.

The question arises as to how the practical enforcement of these restrictions would affect production. It is evident that if

THE COST OF MANUFACTURE

be seriously increased prices must rise and production be curtailed, with a consequent increase of unemployment. It is therefore necessary to show that private industry has a capacity of adaptation to the new set of circumstances.

The question of an eight hours' working day has been subjected to a searching economic analysis. Experience has proved the truth of the theory, that the reasonable shortening of the hours of labour need not increase the cost of production. The economic effect in those industries that permit of work being quickened either by greater effort or improved apparatus is likely to be very slight.

Nor should the minimum wage increase the cost of production. Economic science has established the economy of high wages, and that there is no labour so dear as cheap labour. Skilled English labour is more productive than that of the Continent for the reason that it is more highly paid, that is, the standard of living is higher.

It is a commonplace saying that thirty years ago the wages of the agricultural labourer were so low he was not even worth the miserable pittance he received.

The well-fed, well-housed operative with moderate hours is more physically fit for his work, goes at it with greater pluck and energy than the under-fed, discontented drudge. The higher wages also stimulate the introduction of labour-saving appliances and cause greater managerial efficiency. Cheap labour is not worth saving.

The earnings of skilled workmen in

THE STAPLE TRADES

already average more than £60 a year, even with the average amount of unemployment, and usually the labourer who waits on the artisan receives the minimum of 24s. a week. Thus the chief alteration would be the provision of constant work. It would be

necessary for an employer to keep a sufficient staff to cope with busy periods, for there would be no "reserve army of labour" upon which to draw. Fluctuations of trade would have to be met by varying the worktime of the whole factory instead of the present method of discharging a number of men and working the others full time. These variations would not be unmanageable. The Trade Union returns to the Board of Trade show that unemployment due to Trade causes fluctuations between 2·2 and 8 per cent. No doubt the proportion among the less efficient non-unionists is higher, but even with these the maximum percentage will not exceed 12. The percentage over unionists and non-unionists probably never exceeds 10 even in the worst times. The variation therefore would not be greater than from 48 to 42½ hours a week, and a whole instead of half-holiday on Saturday would meet the difficulty in times of depression.

THE RAILWAYS AND TRANSPORT TRADES.

This group, in which no greater efficiency can result from a reduction in hours, would have to face a considerable increase in the wages bill, nor could they recoup themselves by higher charges. The method the Railway Companies adopt in fixing rates is to disregard altogether the cost of working and to charge the traffic "all that it will bear." In 1904, the total Railway receipts were £111,883,000, of which £69,100,000 was absorbed in working expenses, leaving nearly £42,800,000 to be divided among the shareholders.

The cost of establishing a 48 hours' week among the 500,000 employees, and raising the wages of the 150,000 men who receive less than the proposed minimum wage would be as nearly as can be gauged £6,000,000 a year. There would still be left 36½ millions profit as an inducement for the directors to continue the national services until such time as the nation might see fit to undertake these duties for itself.

The profits of tram and omnibus companies would also suffer diminution. Still the wages and hours that would be enforced approximate to those prevailing in municipal service where a considerable excess of revenue over expenditure is being earned.

THE SWEATED TRADES AND HOME INDUSTRIES

could not bear even a slight increase in the cost of production. The workers in these industries not only compete with each other but have a more powerful rival in the machine equipped factory. Any advance in the wages bill would place them at a hopeless disadvantage.

But though their occupations would be extinguished there would be no decrease in the volume of trade. The "goods," if the term may be permitted, for these products are generally necessary commodities for which the demand would be increased rather than diminished. Instead of being manufactured by starving people in insanitary slums they would be produced under the relatively

well-paid and healthy conditions of factory life. Casual labour also would disappear. Concerns like the Dock Companies, which employ a large number of men for short periods, would have to engage permanent staffs, sufficiently numerous to cope with normally busy periods. Casual labourers form the most numerous class in the army of the unemployed. The alternate periods of overwork and underwork cause physical and moral degradation. Many of the unhappy victims of these demoralising conditions become incapable of sustained industry and deteriorate into the street corner loafers who maintain a precarious existence by odd jobs eked out by charity. The public knowledge that there was employment available for every able bodied man would dry up this stream of demoralising doles. Such of them as were capable of efficient labour would seek public or private work in order to maintain themselves. The others would form a pathological problem of industrially diseased, which would have to be dealt with by other agencies.

AGRICULTURE.

It is possible that many farmers would find the increased cost of labour a greater burden than they could bear under existing conditions of rent and tenure. If so, a much needed system of land reform would be hastened, that would otherwise need legislative compulsion. The land of Britain is steadily going out of cultivation. The area under crops of all kinds in 1880 was 48,850,000 acres; in 1901 it had decreased to 40,400,000 acres. The number of agricultural labourers declined from 1,200,000 in 1881 to 870,000 in 1901, a reduction of more than 25 per cent. in face of a general increase in the population of nearly 20 per cent.

This decline in the most important of our national industries is largely due to our feudal methods of land tenure and the reluctance of both landlord and farmer to allow the labourers to get possession of land by which they could sustain themselves in an independent position. Every expert observer, foreign or colonial, tells the same tale of neglected opportunities. Yet there is no inherent incapacity in either our soil or climate to produce food largely in excess of our present crops.

Prince Krapotkine states*: "If the soil of the United Kingdom were cultivated as it was 35 years ago, 24,000,000 instead of 7,000,000 could live on home grown food, and that agriculture while giving occupation to nearly 750,000 people, would give nearly 3,000,000 wealthy home customers to British manufacturers. If the cultivatable area of the United Kingdom were cultivated as the soil is cultivated on the average in Belgium, the United Kingdom would have food for at least 37,000,000 inhabitants and finally, if the population of this country came to be doubled, all that would be required for producing the food for 80,000,000

* "Field, Factories, and Workshops." Swan & Sonnenschein.

inhabitants would be to cultivate the soil as it is cultivated on the best farms of this country, in Lombardy, and in Flanders."

The European countries where agriculture prospers are those where there is a numerous body of small cultivators. Should the capitalist farmers be compelled to relinquish their holdings in any numbers, the landlords would still desire to let their land and would divide it into smaller tenancies. The success that has already attended such a policy where it has been adopted warrants the belief that the revival of agriculture is to be looked for largely in this direction.

But it is not by any means certain that even under our present system of farming there is not sufficient margin of gross profits to pay the equivalent of the town wage of 24/-.

In 1894 a Parliamentary return was issued on "The Relation of Labour to Cost of Production." A list of twelve farms was given showing the value of the produce, total expenditure, cost of labour, &c. In these the Labour Bill figures at £5,975, and rent at £7,779. In the same return the total amount paid in wages to the agricultural labourers is estimated at £58,000,000 in 1878, and £50,000,000 in 1888. Schedule A of the Income Tax gives the rentals paid to the owners of agricultural land for these two years as £69,300,000 and £61,300,000. In the census of 1901 there were 715,138 males returned as farm workers. Mr. Wilson Fox reported to the Board of Trade in 1905 that the average wages of agricultural workers was 18/- a week. On the basis of these figures the total wages of the men engaged in agriculture for 1901 was £35,750,000. Schedule A of the Income Tax gives the rent of agricultural land for that year as £52,463,000. All these figures correspond and tend to prove that the rent of agricultural land considerably exceeds the cost of the labour engaged in cultivating it.

This evidence indicates that there is sufficient margin to allow of rents being adjusted to meet the increased cost of labour. A farmer will not offer more for land than he thinks he can afford to pay. If the labour bill be high the rent must be low, and vice versa. Strong contributory evidence is afforded by the fact that the wages of agricultural labourers in the mining districts are considerably higher than the average. Mining is an occupation for which the agricultural labourer is well fitted. Employment is constant and wages nearly double the rural rate, consequently mining partially affords the labourer that alternative employment which would be established for all by the Right to Work. The average wages of agricultural workers in Great Britain are 18/-, but in Durham, Glamorgan, Renfrew, and Lanarkshire they average over 22/-,* which is about the rural equivalent of the proposed city minimum. It would appear that the farmer finds no difficulty in adjusting rent to meet this increased labour bill.

*Wilson Fox, Labour Department, Board of Trade.

The argument has gone far enough to establish a *prima-facie* proof that the proposed conditions would place no intolerable burden upon production, and would offer no insuperable difficulties for employers to overcome.

The effect of the Right to Work being to make employment constant, there would be a large number of workers excluded from private industry. These would seek the public work.

They would be composed of all sorts and conditions of men. Along with the capable out of works there would be the loafer, the drunkard, the broken-down professional man, the semi-criminal, the aged, the intellectually and physically degenerate. This wretched mass of poverty and vice is Labour's vanquished army. It forms the unemployables—creatures who once were men. The product of an evil social and industrial environment, it swells the ranks of the efficient unemployed, and forms the excuse by which plutocratic parliaments have hitherto evaded their responsibilities.

These inefficients would have to be weeded out. The applicants would have to conform to

A STANDARD OF EFFICIENCY.

This would be necessary both for the preservation of self-respect and the success of the principle. The public work must not be regarded as a rate-aided refuge for the destitute, or the evils of the old Poor Law will re-assert themselves.

Yet the public authority must not be entrusted with the power of free selection and dismissal, or the whole intention of the proposal would be defeated. A method must be devised by which the community may be protected from the wasters, and the capable workers from excessive tasks set by an unsympathetic authority. This two-fold difficulty may be met by establishing a labour test. This should be some definitely specified task capable of accurate measurement. Probably stone-breaking best fulfils the required purpose. It is not suggested that the public authorities should actually employ the applicants at this unpleasant and expensive task, which, when necessary, may be better performed by machinery. The public authority should be invested with powers to undertake any alternative industries it considered suitable for employing the applicants. Neither side would have the power either to enforce or demand this alternative work, though both would be anxious to adopt it. The public authority, as the representative of the ratepayers—especially the property owning ratepayers—would be unwilling to set men at a comparatively high rate of wages to work on unproductive undertakings. Assuming they had a reasonable regard for their own interests, they would seek means whereby the labourers might produce wealth more or less equal in value to their wages. On the other hand, the disagreeable nature of the test

work would cause the men eagerly to accept any other work of a pleasanter character. This alternative work would be therefore a matter of ready agreement between the public authority and the applicants. When it was established, the various managers and foremen would weed out those whose quality or quantity of work was not up to the average standard. They would not have the power of dismissal, but could send them on to the test-work. If a man loafed at the pleasanter occupation, he would almost certainly shirk his allotted task, in which case he could then be dismissed. On the other hand, should the public authority attempt to evade the Act by exacting more than a fair day's work, the labourers could refuse to perform it, in which case also the agreement would be ended, and the public authority would be compelled to provide the test work. The threatened expense of this would be sufficient to cause a relaxation of the onerous conditions, while its unpleasant nature would prevent the demand being made if the grievance were not genuine. The specified task would thus form a measuring rod by which the value of every other form of labour could be arrived at. It would be at once a safeguard by which loafing or sweating could be prevented. It would weed out the unemployable, and ensure that the remaining labourers were up to the ordinary standard of industry. It would then be a question of organising capacity on the part of those responsible as to whether

THE PUBLIC INDUSTRIES SHOULD BE SELF-SUPPORTING

or a charge upon the community. This is a matter of the utmost importance, not only from the ratepayers' point of view, but for the ultimate success of the scheme. In a criticism of the Unemployed Workmen's Act, Mr. Harold Cox, M.P., the late Secretary of the Cobden Club, made use of the following argument:—"There can be no increase in the volume of employment unless there be an increase in the total mass of exchangeable commodities." This essential fact is continually overlooked in the provision of work. Road making, laying out parks, afforestation, foreshore reclamation, and the other methods that are advocated and adopted add nothing to the exchangeable wealth of the community until a considerable number of years have elapsed, and therefore do not increase the total volume of employment. The maintenance of the men and their families has to be borne by the citizens either by voluntary charity or the enforced contributions of the rates. In either case the result is a diminution in the spending power of the contributors. If 24/- a week be taken as the average wage, every person who is in possession of that sum commands minute portions of the labour time of a multitude of workers to the equivalent of one man's labour for a week. If he spends it in a coat he sets spinners, weavers, and tailors at work: in food, agriculturalists, butchers, and bakers; if he saves it, it is invested in a railway or buildings, and he gives work

to bricklayers, masons, navvies, and platelayers. In each case the resultant amount of employment is the same. It is evident, then, that if the wages of the men on the relief works are paid by the citizens their powers of employing labour is diminished by the amount of employment that is given. As a temporary expedient this course may have some success, for its action is not immediate, and it shifts the burden on to the shoulders of others better able to bear it, but the ultimate effect is to reduce employment in other directions. It would be equally useless producing goods for which there is no effective demand. To manufacture commodities for which there would be no sale, or which, if sold, would displace others, is, for practical purposes, unproductive work.

All social reformers are agreed that the only hope of a revival of industry is to be sought in a return to agriculture. But here a practical difficulty occurs. The majority of the applicants would be town labourers and quite unfitted for farming on their own account. But agriculture may be successfully conducted on properly equipped farms by inexperienced labourers under expert direction. Mr. Rider Haggard, the Commissioner appointed by the Government to report on the Colonies of the Salvation Army in this country and America, states:—

“The lesson to be learned from it (Fort Amity Colony, Colorado) is one of great importance. It shows that unskilled and untrained persons can be taken from towns, put upon land, and thrive there even when the land is of a nature not very suitable to such settlements.”*

“The Hadleigh settlement is to my mind an instance of the extraordinary results which can be attained by wretched men working on land the ordinary agriculturalist would also call wretched... It shows what could be done with much cold English soil if only sufficient capital and labour were applied to that soil.”†

Both small holdings and large farms have their places in agriculture. There are some forms of produce that are more economically raised by extensive methods of culture, and others by the small holding system. Probably cereals, meat, dairy produce, and tree fruit may be better dealt with on large areas, while vegetables, poultry, soft fruit, and the like, requiring more individual care and hand labour, may be produced more successfully by the peasant cultivator. Municipalities have considerable experience in agriculture. Many of them farm large tracts of land for the disposal of the town waste, and the results are not discouraging. There is a growing demand for the municipalization of the milk supply. Pure milk is necessary for the health of the community. At present the supply is a source of contagion and disease. No amount of inspection can cope with the dishonesty or carelessness of private profit makers.

*“ Report on the Salvation Army Colonies,” C.D. 2562, June, 1905, p. 35.

†Ibid, p. 69.

The only safe method is for the local authorities to take over the whole service from the originating cow to the consumer's milk jug. Cow keeping involves cattle breeding, and also growing the food necessary for winter support. There thus seems to be ample scope for the establishment of communal farms, as well as small holdings, where able bodied labourers without previous experience may be trained to the agricultural industry.

When the crops were put on the market additional purchasing power would be given, causing the demand for other necessities to become effective. Some of this demand might very well be supplied by the public authorities. Clothing factories, building departments, and other productive industries might then be established, and the circle of municipal enterprise might gradually widen out until it would embrace a very large number of operations.

Into this development it is unnecessary to enter. Sufficient evidence has been given to show that the Right to Work need neither break down the commercial system nor prove a burden upon the community, and that there is ample opportunity of employing our surplus labour in productive industries.

The Right to Work makes no provision for

THE UNEMPLOYABLE.

Possibly it might make their case harder than at present, for its effect would certainly be to stop at once the stream of semi-charity upon which so many of them eke out a precarious living. The term is frequently used to indicate what the Swiss call 'workshies'—the Weary Willies and Tired Tims of our comic journals. It is probable this class is less numerous than is generally imagined. Undoubtedly differences in habits of industry exist, but it is very questionable if there be any man who, having the ability to work and having no other means of support, would refuse to work under decent conditions. At any rate, no man can be termed loafer until he has been offered and has declined the opportunity. Even the actual inefficient are many of them only temporarily so. A man is frequently dubbed lazy when he is merely disabled by hopelessness and starvation. Intermittent work demoralizes its victims. Steady, regular occupation becomes as distasteful to them as it does to the rich idlers of the West End.

Better opportunities will reform most of these unfortunates. It has been freely admitted by those responsible for finding work for the unemployed that at first the work performed is inefficient and costly, but with every week both speed and quality increase until it is up to the general average. The real unemployables—those physically or mentally incapable of working—are probably reared as such from childhood. Cradled in a slum, schooled in the gutter, underfed from birth, stunted in body, preternaturally sharpened in cunning, they become incapable of honest toil.

Society, which has allowed this evil growth, must bear the cost of its own neglect, and must maintain these people even though irreclaimable. It may be a consolation that the expense can never be as great as the maintenance of the unemployables of wealth and fashion, who at the popping of every champagne cork cost the community a sum equal to a week's support of each of their poorer imitators.

With the establishment of better conditions the unemployable would no longer be bred and reared, and in the lapse of time would disappear.

There is some diversity of opinion as to

WHAT AUTHORITY SHOULD BE RESPONSIBLE

for providing employment. There are four alternatives :

- (1) The Central Government.
- (2) The new Committees formed under the Unemployed Workmen's Act, 1905.
- (3) The Boards of Guardians.
- (4) The Municipalities and County Councils.

There are many objections to making the Government the responsible authority. If a comparison be made between State and Municipal organisation of labour, the balance in favour of economical and successful administration is preponderatingly on the side of the latter. The organizing of industry on so vast a scale as the State is apt to become rigid and uniform. The control exercised by Parliament over the Government departments is merely nominal. Even the titular chief is frequently but a figure head. The real authority lies with the permanent officials. On the other hand the control by a municipality over its officers is real. The method of governing by Committees is far more effective than by a single minister, whose selection is generally made for party or social reasons, and whose term of office is necessarily temporary. Unless, therefore, there is some overwhelming reason in favour of the State being the unit of administration, as in the case of the Post Office or a nationalized Railway system, the development of communal activity is better carried on through the agency of the smaller bodies.

The Distress Committees are not popularly elected, and are likely to be wanting in energy and initiative. Their rating power is necessarily limited: it would be an intolerable indignity and wrong to allow a nominated and inferior Committee unlimited powers of levying the rates over a municipal area. Yet this very limitation, coupled with the non-representative character, would be likely to cause inefficient administration. The requisition would become a permanent charge and would be regarded as an alternative poor rate, over the expenditure of which the citizens would have little control.

The same objections apply largely to the Board of Guardians, added to which there is the strong popular prejudice against them. So far from it being desirable to increase their powers, it would

tend both to efficiency and economy to abolish them, and vest their responsibilities in

THE MUNICIPALITY OR COUNTY COUNCIL.

Evidence points to these authorities as on the whole the most suitable bodies on whom the onus of providing work should fall. They are already large employers and conduct a number of important social industries. In many cases a better adjustment of hours and work would absorb the effective unemployed. In efficiency and economy they are superior to all other communal or industrial organizations. In a comparison of Electric Undertakings by private companies and Local Authorities compiled by the Accountant of the Durham County Council, figures are given which prove that municipalities obtain more from their plant and manage their undertakings more economically than the private companies, and a similar enquiry shows the same general result to be true with regard to Gas, Water, and Tramways. The area most conveniently adapted as the unit of administration is that covered by the Education Authorities. There has been a desire expressed by many interested in the unemployed question that the cost should either be borne entirely by the State or supplemented by a grant from the Exchequer. This appeal would be reasonable if the maintenance of the unemployed is to be a permanent charge on the community. It should certainly apply to the Colonies for the reformation of the unemployable, but the Municipal industry that has been recommended is on a different footing.

It has been shown that employment can only be increased by the extent that the public industries are self-supporting, and every inducement should be put upon the Municipality to make them so. There can be no greater inducement to the average property owner than to make him pay for the loss. It should be taken for granted that efficient labour applied to land and capital can produce value equal to the cost of its maintenance. If it did not, the fault would lie with the management and organization, and the State should no more be expected to make up the deficiency than it is now called on to do when Municipal Trams, or Gas Works fail to pay.

Every reasonable protection should be given to the public authority for this purpose. In particular,

TEMPORARY EMPLOYMENT,

which is always inefficient and costly, should be dispensed with, and conditions imposed which would render it somewhat difficult for men to re-enter the public service after they had left it. It is no intention of the Right to Work to give temporary employment in times of stress. Certainly it is not desirable that the ratepayers should maintain workmen from starvation until the capitalist could again make profits from their labour. In order to qualify for the work, a

period of residence in a district should be imposed. Six months would be a reasonable term, and this should be extended to a year in order to regain the privilege. Employers who wanted to attract men from the public work would then not only have to offer equivalent wages and hours but a year's engagement.

This is a reasonable requirement. It is a consequence of the enslaved condition of the manual-working classes that the very moment their labour can be dispensed with they are discharged and thrown on their own resources. Yet the official classes, whose services are largely non-productive, are dealt with in a different fashion. Their salaries are paid by the year, and no professional or commercial man ever calculates his earnings by the week.

Employers, when embarking in an industry, undertake many fixed annual charges—rent, interest on capital, salaries of official staff—and find no difficulty in meeting these current expenses. It is but just and reasonable that the subsistence of the workers, upon whom all the other classes depend, should be made the first charge upon production.

The ultimate justification of all social reform lies in the

MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL IMPROVEMENT

of the people. The demoralisation of labour is due less to its poverty than its servitude. The absolute dependence of the wage-earning classes, black-coated or fustian-clad, upon the capitalists saps their manhood and destroys self-respect. Give the people the right to live without permission of a master, even though it be but bare shelter and a crust of bread, and a mental revolution will be effected that will exceed the economic in the degree that the spiritual transcends the physical. No other reform holds out the promise of social betterment like the right to work. The existence of the unemployed constantly defeats the intention of legislative reform. Measures designed to mitigate some of the effects of poverty frequently produce other forms of suffering. The Workmen's Compensation Act has increased the amount of unemployment among the elderly. Old Age Pensions will probably lower the wages of light occupations. Even the transference of industries to the community does not solve the difficulty. Trams may be municipalised, mines and railways made national services, even a complete industrial organisation established, and yet the worker will be enslaved. While there exists a man, whether capitalist or communal employer, who possesses the power of dismissal over a body of workmen, servitude, with its mental and moral degradation, will exist.

The Right to Work is a charter of industrial freedom, the emancipation of Labour from capitalist tyranny. Till it is obtained there can be neither social nor moral progress. When it is obtained all other things become possible.

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JOHN BULL AND HIS UNEMPLOYED.

A Plain Statement of the Law
of England as it affects
the Unemployed.

By J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P.

ONE PENNY.

LONDON:
THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.
10, RED LION COURT, E.C.

1905.

FOREWORD.

THE words which follow are not a legal treatise for the guidance of legal minds. They are an attempt to set forth in plain terms the right which Parliament has conferred upon that large section of the poor whom we know as the able-bodied unemployed. They are intended to assist these, and those who stand by them, in courageously asserting their claim to have useful and remunerative employment placed within their reach ; to bring home to their minds the fact that they are being robbed, first by our industrial system in depriving them of the opportunity to work, and next by the State in not enforcing those laws passed to give them that opportunity. The patient endurance of the poor is due to ignorance of what is theirs by right. I want them to be patient no longer. Hence this tract.

J.K.H.

John Bull and His Unemployed.

THIS is not a treatise on the causes of, or the remedies for, unemployment. It is a plain and I hope easily comprehended statement of the law of England as it affects the unemployed. The first act quoted was passed 304 years ago, but it has never been repealed, is still good law and may be put in operation any time a Board of Guardians and the Local Government Board decree that it should. The clause quoted deals with two classes of people, the able bodied poor, who are to be given work, and the sick, aged or disabled poor, who are to be given relief. There is no limit to the extent to which rates may be levied for this purpose, and no restrictions imposed upon the kind of work which may be given.

THE LAW OF GOOD QUEEN BESS.

“45 Elizabeth, Chapter II.

“An Act for the Relief of the Poor, 1601.

“Be it enacted by the Authority of this present Parliament, that the Churchwardens of every Parish, and Four, Three or Two substantial Household-ers there, as shall be thought meet, having respect to the proportion and Greatness of the same Parish and Parishes, to be nominated yearly in Easter Week, or within one month after Easter, under the Hand and Seal of Two or more Justices of the Peace in the same County, whereof One to be of the Quorum, dwelling in or near the same Parish or Division where the same Parish doth lie, shall be called Overseers of the Poor of the same Parish; and they, or the greater Part of them shall take Order from Time to Time, by and with the Consent of Two or more such Justices of Peace as is aforesaid, for *setting to work* the Children of all such whose Parents shall not, by the said Churchwardens and Overseers, or the greater Part of them, be thought able to keep and maintain their Children; and also for *setting to work* all such Persons, married or unmarried, having no means to maintain them, and use no ordinary and daily Trade of Life to get their living by; and also to raise weekly or otherwise (by Taxation of every Inhabitant, Parson, Vicar, and other, and of every Occupier of Lands, Houses, Tithes Impropriate, Appropriations of Tithes, Coal Mines or saleable Underwoods in the said Parish, in such competent Sum and Sums of Money as they shall think fit.) a convenient Stock of Flax, Hemp, Wool, Thread, Iron, and other Ware and Stuff *to set the Poor on Work*; and also competent Sums of Money for and towards the *necessary Relief* of the Lame, Impotent, Old, Blind, and such other among them being Poor, *and not able to work*; . . . and to do and execute all other Things, as well for the disposing of the said Stock, as otherwise concerning the Premises, as to them shall seem convenient; . . . upon pain that every one of them absenting themselves without lawful Cause as aforesaid from such monthly Meeting for the Purpose aforesaid, being made by and with the Assent of the said Justices of Peace or any Two of them before mentioned, to forfeit for every such Default or Absence or Negligence Twenty Shillings.”

The foregoing is the foundation upon which the English Poor Law has been reared. In 1694 a State paper was issued giving Justices of the Peace power to come to the aid of over-rated parishes by spreading the tax over an entire county for the benefit of any particular parish. In 1819, the Act 59, Geo. III., chap. 12, was passed. It deals with various matters relating to the Poor Law, and after reciting the Act of Elizabeth, as quoted above, proceeds to say (Clauses 12 and 13):—

“And whereas by the Laws now in force sufficient Powers are not given to the Churchwardens and Overseers, to keep such Persons fully and constantly employed; be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor of any Parish, with the consent of the Inhabitants thereof in Vestry assembled, to take into their hands any Land or Ground which shall belong to such Parish, or to the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor of such Parish, or to the Poor thereof, *or to purchase or to hire and take on lease for and on Account of the Parish, any suitable Portion or Portions of Land within or near to such Parish,* not exceeding Twenty Acres in the whole; and to employ and set to work in the Cultivation of such Land, on account of the Parish, any such Persons as by Law they are directed to set to work, and to pay to such of the poor Persons so employed *as shall not be supported by the Parish, reasonable wages for their Work;* and the poor Persons so employed shall have such and the like Remedies for the Recovery of their Wages, and shall be subject to such and the like Punishment for Misbehaviour in their Employment, as other Labourers in Husbandry are by Law entitled and subject to.”

“Provided, and be it further enacted, That for the Promotion of Industry amongst the Poor, it shall be lawful for the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor of any Parish, with the Consent of the Inhabitants in Vestry assembled, to let any Portion and Portions of such Parish Land as aforesaid, or of the Land to be so purchased or taken on Account of the Parish, to any poor and Industrious Inhabitant of the Parish, *to be by him or her occupied and cultivated on his or her own Account, and for his or her own Benefit, at such reasonable Rent* and for such Term as shall by the Inhabitants in Vestry be fixed and determined.”

Here again it will be noted a broad and clear distinction is drawn between the “poor and industrious” unemployed, who are to be set to continuous work at “reasonable wages,” or to whom land is to be let at a “reasonable rent,” and the helpless poor who are to be “supported by the parish.” It is also worth noting that women are included with men in the foregoing enactment.

In 1831-2 further enactments were passed, empowering the Poor Law Authorities to acquire land in various ways, and the 20 acres mentioned in the last quoted Act was increased to 50 acres. Part at least of the land so acquired was to be let in allotments of not less than one fourth or more than one whole acre to such “poor and industrious” or “such industrious cottagers of good character, being day labourers or journeymen, as should apply for the same and who undertook to cultivate the land in such a manner as to preserve the land in a due state of fertility.” Evidently these last were not paupers supported by the parish.

Is the Law Obsolete?

It is frequently alleged by Clerks to the Guardians and others that the law, as set forth above, is obsolete, and could not

now be put in force. The obvious retort to that is, that a law once enacted remains operative until it has been repealed, and these Acts have never been repealed. But this is no mere matter of opinion. Three Presidents of the Local Government Board, Sir Henry Fowler in 1895, Mr. Walter Long in 1903, and Mr. Gerald Balfour in 1905, have all stated in reply to questions put by me that these Acts are still operative. Here, for example, is an extract from Hansard's record of the House of Commons proceedings for July 19th, 1905, which puts the matter beyond doubt :—

Mr. Keir Hardie—I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether, seeing that under the Act 42 Elizabeth, c. 12, and subsequent Acts, Boards of Guardians may, with the consent of the Local Government Board, acquire 50 acres of land in each parish upon which to set the able-bodied poor to work, and to pay them reasonable wages for their work, he will call the attention of Boards of Guardians to these enactments, and suggest their application as a method of relieving the rates from the burden of maintaining able-bodied men and women in idleness ?

Mr. Gerald Balfour—The enactments referred to have for many years been considered as obsolete, and have not been acted upon by Boards of Guardians since the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834. I could not undertake to comply with the suggestion of the hon. member that the attention of Boards of Guardians should be called to them.

Mr. Keir Hardie—The right honourable gentleman says these enactments are obsolete, but could not any legal authority put them into operation if it choose ?

Mr. Gerald Balfour—There would be nothing illegal in so doing ; but if I were, as requested, to call attention to them, it might be thought I was advising that they be enforced.

Emigration.

Before departing from the provision made in the Poor Law for the relief of the able-bodied, I may call attention to an almost forgotten proposition relating to emigration. What it is will be best seen by the following question and answer, which will be found in Hansard for March 2nd, 1905 :—

Mr. Keir Hardie—I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether, seeing that under the Act 12 and 13 Victoria, c. 103, s. 20, Guardians were empowered, with the consent of the Local Government Board, to spend one-half the average yearly poor raised in the parish in emigrating destitute persons at a cost not exceeding £10 per head, he will say whether these powers have ever been repealed ; and, if not, he will call the attention of the Metropolitan Boards of Guardians to the Act, and recommend them to work in conjunction with the Central Unemployed Committee in selecting destitute applicants who desire to be emigrated ?

The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Walter Long)—The sec. referred to has not been repealed, though the effect of subsequent enactments has been to modify its provisions. A Board of Guardians may, however, assist in emigrating poor persons belonging to the union, and I am now considering the question of recommending the making of arrangements between the Metropolitan Board of Guardians and the Central Committee, with a view to aiding emigration in suitable cases.

These laws are still unrepealed : they constitute the *Magna Charta* of the poor of England. They not only recognise the duty of the State to provide work for the landless, workless poor, but they confer upon the Authorities full and ample powers for giving effect to this duty. It was because of this that the

Radical manufacturers, desirous of filling their mills with cheap labour, and finding the Poor Law their greatest obstacle, made its repeal or modification their first business after their enfranchisement in 1832. It is a noteworthy fact that the last enactment for the humane administration of the Poor Law should have been passed in 1832, the year of the Reform Bill. Thenceforward and on until now humanity towards the poor has had to give way to the ruthless spirit of commerce.

DISFRANCHISEMENT.

The enforcement of these old laws rests entirely with the Boards of Guardians and the Local Government Board. Whether or not work provided by Guardians under the old Acts entails disfranchisement upon the recipient, could only be answered in a court of law. The Local Government Board assumes that it would; but the Local Government Board assumes a good deal for which there is no justification in law. The question turns entirely upon the interpretation which the Courts would place upon Clause 55 of the Reform Act of 1832, wherein it is set forth that no person shall be entitled to be registered as an elector "who shall have within 12 calendar months . . . received parochial relief." My contention is, and did space permit I would be prepared to elaborate it, that work or allotments provided as set forth above to poor and industrious persons who are "not being supported by the parish." is not parochial relief, and that consequently no disfranchisement should follow; and in this I am backed up by such legal opinion as I have been able to consult.

The Relief of Destitute Children.

The effect on the children is such a vital part of the problem of unemployment that it is necessary to treat of it separately. The following is a brief statement of the law as it applies to the relief of children who lack the necessities of civilised life.

It was decided in the *Merthyr Tydfil Case* of 1900 that children in want of the means of life must be relieved by the Guardians. The facts were that the colliers of that district had declared a strike, and whatever were the merits of the case, their children were starving; and the Guardians very rightly relieved them with food and money. But one of the Coal Companies brought an action, as ratepayers, objecting to the relief being granted. That children were starving was nothing to the directors and shareholders as compared with a rise in the rates. But they had to pay their rates, for the Court of Appeal decided that it was the duty of Guardians to grant relief to all destitute children, whatsoever might be the cause of their poverty. The Judge said: "The Poor Laws impose on the comparatively well-to-do the duty of supporting those who, by reason of their poverty, cannot maintain themselves." In brief, if it be brought

to the knowledge of the Poor Law Officers that a child if destitute of the necessities of life, that child must on demand be relieved under the Poor Law out of the rates. Of course, the law having been made by landlords and capitalist, they have taken care that the fathers shall lose their votes as the price of keeping their children alive. It is Shylock's pound of flesh. It is important to note that it is in the power of the Guardians to decide what is "*destitution*"; if they please to have a high standard of "*necessaries*," so much the wiser of them.

Such was the existing law when the Local Government Board issued *The Relief (School Children) Order, 1905*. This order (which only applies to children in attendance at a Public Elementary School, and does not apply to any of such children who are blind, deaf and dumb, or to those living away from their father, or to those whose father is already in receipt of relief) provides that a special application for the relief of poor destitute children may be made to the Guardians or the Relieving Officers by any of the following persons :—(1) The Managers of a Public Elementary School ; (2) any teacher who is so directed by the managers ; (3) any officer appointed for that purpose by the Local Education Authority. If the case be of *urgent necessity*, any relief which the Guardians grant must be considered as given by way of loan to the father, and the father of the child must be informed that it has been so given. If the case be *not of urgent necessity*, then the Guardians must endeavour to discover if the father is habitually neglecting his child ; and if they are satisfied that the destitution of the child is because of the father's habitual neglect, then any relief granted *must* be on the understanding that it is a loan which the father must repay. But if they find that there is no habitual neglect, then the relief given can be by way of loan or as ordinary relief as the Guardians please. Whenever the Guardians, under this Order, grant relief by loan, they must take proceedings to recover the cost from the father ; unless they obtain the Local Government Board's consent to the proceedings being stopped.

What then is the actual effect of this Order of the Local Government Board which allows relief to be granted to children by way of loan to the father? We have seen that the Guardians already must relieve destitute children by the way of ordinary relief. In what way does the loan differ from the ordinary relief? The father is by law responsible for the cost of ordinary relief, and he loses his vote whenever such relief is granted to his child. Under the new Order the father can be made to pay the cost of the relief, and the President of the Local Government Board declared last session, in answer to Mr. Keir Hardie, that relief by way of loan caused the father to lose his vote, in the same manner as if it were ordinary relief. If this be a correct statement of the law we may well wonder why the new Order is supposed to be of any benefit to the poor. Indeed, instead of aiding the parent and the starving child, it appears merely to devise new methods of

recovering the money from the father. Under the old law the cost of the relief cannot be recovered after twelve months: by the new Order it can, apparently, be recovered from the father at any time within six years. But, as a matter of fact, it is by no means certain that the law is as the President stated. At the very least, it is an uncertain point whether relief by way of loan disfranchises the recipient. The cases on the subject are few, and so far as they go they lay it down that a loan does not destroy the right to vote. This matter might easily be settled by a test case in the law courts, either by the Guardians refusing to report a parent out of work because his child had been fed, or by someone so reported defending his vote.

To sum up, the Guardians are bound to grant relief to any destitute child placed in their care; under the old law in all cases; and under the new Order in the case of application by the special persons mentioned above. The Order, indeed, merely suggests new methods of procedure, and does not give any new right to relief. Its main value consists in the fact that it directs the attention of Guardians to their powers and responsibilities towards destitute school children, and empowers them to give out relief in some cases where it would otherwise have been legally necessary to make the child recipient enter the workhouse.

Summary.

The powers held and open to be exercised by Guardians for dealing with the Unemployed can be summarised thus:—

- (1) Levy a rate with which to open workshops wherein to set the unemployed to work at reasonable wages. Men and women so employed to have all the rights of ordinary workers as to the recovery of wages in a court of law, &c.
- (2) Acquire land—at least fifty acres for each parish—which may be let at a reasonable rent, in allotments of one-fourth to one whole acre, to any approved applicant in the parish.
- (3) Spend one-half their income in emigrating the able-bodied unemployed.
- (4) Co-operate with the local educational authority in providing meals for destitute children.

With these facts before us it will be seen how ridiculously absurd is the oft-repeated statement that the Unemployment Act is a new departure in the law of England.

The Unemployment Act, 1905.

The descriptive title of the Act is "An Act to establish an organisation with a view to the provision of employment or assistance for unemployed workmen in proper cases." We shall see later on how this promise is kept. All its provisions apply to women in exactly the same way as to men, and wherever the term men is used it includes women.

Under this Act—which expires on the 11th August, 1908, unless renewed—an authority for its administration must be set up in every municipal borough and urban district in Great Britain and Ireland with a population exceeding 50,000.* In a borough or urban district where the population is under 50,000, but over 10,000,† the Local Government Board may establish one of these authorities on the application of the borough or district council. On the application of a council or board of Guardians, or where necessary, without such application, the L.G.B. may set up a Distress Committee for a county or part of a county.

Machinery.

In the case of London each borough has a distress committee, with a central body for the entire area of the metropolis; in boroughs outside London, with a population exceeding 50,000, the powers of the Distress Committee and Central Body are vested in one body. In County areas, where the Act is applied, the London model is to be followed with local adaptations. Distress Committees and Central Bodies are to be composed in part of Councillors, part of Guardians, and a part, not exceeding one fourth, of co-opted members from persons “experienced in the relief of distress.” Once formed the Central Body in London is an entirely independent unit of administration, and is under no obligation to report its proceedings to the Borough Council or the Guardians. The new Body may make what regulations it chooses as to the tenure of office of the co-opted members, but Guardians and Councillors cannot be deposed from office in the new Body so long as they are Guardians or Councillors. The officers and the officials of existing Authorities should as far as possible be used for the purposes of the new Act so as to keep down the cost of administration. Where new appointments require to be made the engagement should be for not more than three years, so as to avoid all questions of compensation for loss of office if the Act lapses in 1908. At least one member of the Distress Committee and Central Body must be a woman; as many more may be as can get selected either from among the Guardians or the co-opted members.

The new Authority must make arrangements for making themselves acquainted with the conditions of labour within their area, and for this purpose they may assist, establish, or take over—labour exchanges and employment registries, and further, they may seek enlightenment by the collection of information and “otherwise as they think fit.” These words are wide and leave the new authority very wide discretionary powers as to their method of procedure. No person, male or female, who has not resided

* In Ireland 10,000.

† Ireland 5,000. By what appears to be a slip burghs in Scotland—Royal, parliamentary, or police—must have a population of 20,000 to enable them to adopt the Act.

for at least 12 months in the district is entitled to any consideration at the hands of the new Authority. The Distress Committee may, if ordered by the Central Body (in boroughs and districts outside London with a population exceeding 50,000, there is one body which has all those powers conferred upon it, under the title of Distress Committee) "receive, enquire into and discriminate between applications made to them from persons unemployed." As sub-sections three and five of section 1 are important I quote them entire :

(3) If the Distress Committee are satisfied that any such applicant is honestly desirous of obtaining work, but is temporarily unable to do so from exceptional causes over which he has no control, and consider that his case is capable of more suitable treatment under this Act than under the poor law, they may endeavour to obtain work for the applicant, or, if they think the case is one for treatment by the Central Body rather than by themselves, refer the case to the Central Body, but the Distress Committee shall have no power to provide, or contribute towards the provision of, work for any unemployed person.

(5) The Central Body may, if they think fit, in any case of an unemployed person referred to them by a Distress Committee, assist that person by aiding the emigration or removal to another area of that person and any of his dependents, or by providing, or contributing towards the provision of temporary work in such manner as they think best calculated to put him in a position to obtain regular work or other means of supporting himself.

The funds for the working of the Act are to be raised by

(a) Voluntary Contributions.

(b) Contributions made on the demand of the Central Body by the Borough or District Council, or a district of a county as the case may be, but in no case must the contributions from a Council in any year exceed the amount which would be produced by a rate of one halfpenny in the pound, or such higher rate, not exceeding one penny, as the L.G.B. may approve.

The money received from the rates can only be spent on the official costs, labour exchanges, migration, emigration, or "the acquisition of land for the purposes of this Act." Every thing else has to be paid for out of the voluntary contributions. We shall see later on how this works out.

County or Borough Councils which do not adopt the Act are under obligation to appoint a special committee one-fourth co-opted, to collect information about the condition of labour in the same manner as the Distress Committees as described above. The charge of this falls upon the County or Borough rate. Scotland and Ireland are both exempted from this proviso, unless where it is expressly ordered by the L.G.B. for these countries.

By Section IV. of the Act the L.G.B. is empowered to frame regulations for giving effect to its various provisions, and these are binding upon the new authorities until repealed. All such regulations must be laid before Parliament without delay. These regulations have now been issued. Let us now turn to them and note how the L.G.B. has interpreted the provisions of the Act.

The Regulations.

The Local Government Board Regulations for the administration of the Unemployed Workman Act is a bitterly disappointing document.

Every line of it has C.O.S. stamped across its face. The intention which underlay the original draft of the Bill to provide assistance for the genuinely unemployed workman has been completely lost sight of, and the whole of the degrading and hateful methods of the worst form of Poor Law administration have been set up instead. Destitution and not unemployment is apparently to be the test as to whether an applicant is to be assisted under the Act. A whole army of Paul Pry's are to be called into being and empowered to poke their noses into the affairs of decent people, and unless a person out of work can show the rudiments of angels' wings already in the sprouting stage, he or she may go hang for anything the Act will do for them. There is not a touch of human feeling within the four corners of the newly-issued document, whilst the provisions of the Act itself have either been narrowed down, or, and I say this quite deliberately, misinterpreted so as to prevent its being of use to those for whose benefit it was originally intended. The regulations will have a history.

Under Article II. of the Regulations it is laid down that applicants for employment shall make their application in person to an officer, member, or any other person authorised by the Distress Committee to receive and investigate applications. He has to reply to a long series of questions to enable his record to be compiled. If he makes a false or wrong statement on any point, that may be held to be an unpardonable offence, and he may thereupon be struck off the list of those entitled to receive help. When he has made his statement:—

"An officer, a member or any other person who is duly authorised shall visit and make inquiries at the home of the applicant for the verification of his statements, and may also seek verification from the Guardians, or any other body, authority, or person, able to supply useful information with respect to the applicant."

When all this has been done the case of the applicant (if he is still alive!) is to be reported to the Distress Committee on a record paper, of which a form has been prepared, and the Distress Committee having satisfied itself that the applicant is of good character, that he has not sufficient means to maintain himself and his dependents, that he has been regularly employed for a continuous period of 12 months at the least, and has been "well-conducted and thrifty," that he has not received Poor Law relief during the preceding 12 months, other than medically, that he has a "wife, child, or other dependent," "that he is able to work," that in "other respects his case is a fit and proper one;" then his case "shall be treated by the Distress Committee in preference to cases of a different character."

It is thus that the Distress Committees are empowered to help the poor, hapless applicant who is "honestly desirous of obtaining work, and temporarily unemployed through causes over which he has no control," which is the wording of the Act itself.

The Record.

Here is the prescribed form for the Record of each applicant for work as given in the Regulations, and which is to be carefully preserved by the Central Body:—

1. Name of applicant.
Surname.
Christian name.
2. Present address in full, and duration of residence thereat.
3. Preceding address or addresses in full, and duration of residence thereat.
4. Age.
5. Trade, calling, employment, or occupation.
6. Condition (married or single, widow or widower).
7. Children or other dependents :—
Children—Number, ages, sex, trade, calling or occupation (if any).
8. Actual rent and number of rooms in applicant's tenancy.
No. of rooms sublet (if any).
Deduct rent for rooms sublet.
Arrears of rent.
9. Nature and duration of applicant's last employment.
Full name and address of employer.
Name of foreman.
10. Date and cause of termination of applicant's last employment.
11. Rate of wages and average weekly earnings received by applicant in last employment.
12. Particulars of other employment of applicant during last five years.
Full names and addresses of employers.
Names of foremen.
13. Present income of applicant and dependents :—
Earnings of applicant.
 „ of wife.
 „ „ children.
 „ „ other dependents.
Receipts from club or society, charitable sources, other sources.
14. Relief :—If no relief has been received by applicant or any of his dependents.
If relief has been received by applicant or any of his dependents.
Date of last receipt.
From what Poor Law Union.
15. Particulars of membership past or present of trade or other provident society.
16. Applicant's prospect of obtaining regular work or other means of supporting himself.
17. Applicant's fitness :—
For work on land in rural area.
For change of occupation.
Particulars of previous experience (if any).
18. Reference to responsible persons, full names and addresses.

Reading the above one might imagine that it was a certificate of character by an applicant for the post of Archbishop of Canterbury, with its remuneration of £15,000 a year. The unemployed will not, I feel certain, either fill in such forms or admit the new Paul Prys to their houses. We neither live in Russia nor Germany, and will have none of their bureaucratic, inquisitional methods thrust upon us by a Government Department. The one and only test needed under the Act is that a man is "honestly desirous of obtaining work." If he is, then let work be found for him, if he is not, then by all means let him be handed over to such authorities as may be best fitted for dealing with his case. But work first: by that test let the unemployed stand or fall.

Emigration and Migration.

Having been thus classified, catalogued, dissected, and examined under the microscope as if he were some strange,

weird specimen of a cangerous bug, the applicant's name is to be passed on to the Central Body, where a fresh enquiry may be ordered. Everything about the Record having been found in perfect order, the Central Body may now deal with the man.

Under Article III. of the Regulations, as I have all along alleged would be the case, Emigration occupies the place of honour amongst the measures of relief. The condition upon which people may be emigrated may be learned on application at the nearest Labour Bureau. Article IV. deals with migration, —the removal of an applicant to another part of the country. Here it is laid down that an applicant can only be aided to remove "to an area within the limits of England and Wales." As the Act applies to Ireland and Scotland, as well as England and Wales, it is difficult to understand the reasons for this limitation. Before aiding his removal the Central Body is to satisfy itself that at least 12 months' regular employment, with suitable dwelling accommodation, are reasonably assured at the place of destination. Here, as in the case of the Aliens' Act, there is nothing to hinder men being sent under contract to take the place of workmen during a Trade Dispute, and this is a matter which will need careful watching. The new Act must not be allowed to become an agency for the supply of blacklegs.

Remuneration.

The applicant having stood the test of the riddle of the Distress Committee and the small sieve of the Central Body, may, if neither migrated nor emigrated, have work provided for him for not more than 16 weeks for two successive years. The work may be either on a Farm Colony or on any undertaking by a public body. The regulations under this head (Article V. of the Order) are fairly passable until we come to (I), which deals with wages. Work must be continuous to the extent, at least, that it must be given "during a period, or a succession of periods, comprising in each case four consecutive days at least." If work is provided in such a way that the person can return home each evening, the pay is to be fixed on the basis of an unskilled labourer's wages in the district where he works, but if he requires to live away from home, the wages are still to be fixed by those which obtain in the district in which his home is situated. I think, on the whole, this is a good arrangement. But when we come to the amount of the remuneration we are at once face to face with what looks like a bad breach of faith. The original Bill contained a clause dealing with wages, which set forth that the total remuneration to be paid should be less than that which could be earned by an unskilled labourer working at his ordinary employment. Over and over again, both in public and in private, Mr. Gerald Balfour explained that his intention was that the full standard rates of pay should be given for the time worked, but that the working time should be so arranged that the total earnings would be less than the normal. Strong

objection was taken to the clause, on the grounds that "it took labourers' wages as the standard, whereas many of the unemployed are skilled artisans and are frequently set to work at their own trade by the Borough Council. Painters are a common case in point. The clause was finally withdrawn on the understanding that it would be dealt with in the Regulations, where it now appears in an even more objectionable form. The new words are—"the total remuneration . . . for any given period of continuous work shall be less than that which would under ordinary circumstances be earned by an unskilled labourer for continuous work *during the same period.*" The sting is in the last four words, which seem to imply that the rate per hour or per day must be below the standard. If this be so then it is a breach of faith, the breaking of a pledge repeatedly given, and cannot be allowed to stand as it is. Further, to offer painters, joiners, engineers, or the like, who are found work at their trade, less than the wages of an unskilled labourer is not the kind of thing which any public body in the present state of public opinion, can either tolerate or countenance.

Summary.

To sum up,—

1. Work of a temporary character may be provided by a central body, but not for more than 16 weeks in any one year, nor for more than two years in succession.
2. Such work must "have for its object a purpose of actual and substantial utility." Emptying a draw-well with a sieve would not come within this category.
3. The employment must be for "four consecutive days at least," which is a good point ; and the man must be given reasonable facilities to search for regular employment.
4. Where work is given away from home, a portion of the remuneration may be handed over by the committee to the wife or other dependent.
5. The total remuneration "shall be less than that which would under ordinary circumstances be earned by an unskilled labourer for continuous work during the same period in the place at which the work is provided." If work is provided in a district which necessitates the man living away from home, the remuneration is to be fixed by the standard obtaining in the district in which his home is situate and not be that of the district in which the work is provided.
6. A Central Body may contribute towards the cost of work if it is being undertaken by a public authority with intent to benefit the unemployed, but in that case all these regulations in respect to wages, &c., apply.

Farm Colonies.

I now come to the farm colonies. All the regulations anent the provision of work apply to these, and have indeed been obviously framed

to meet the case of those who require to go to one of them for work. Money may be borrowed for the purchase of land for a farm colony on the security of the penny rate. But before doing anything in this matter the Central Body must submit its proposals to the Local Government Board, and satisfy that authority that it will be able, by voluntary contributions or otherwise—but not from the rates—to meet

“All expenses which will be incurred . . . in connection with the establishment, maintenance, and working of the farm colony, the remuneration, maintenance, and accommodation of persons employed, the payment of rates, taxes, or assessments, or for any other purpose in relation to the farm colony.”

Nothing, it will be seen, is to be left to chance. The hat is to be sent round to pay the rates and taxes on a piece of land bought, or leased, by public money, and administered by an authority empowered to act by Act of Parliament. This is how the self-respect of the working classes to be safeguarded, and the charity of the charitable stimulated. The thing is a farce, though it may end in tragedy. The income from the sale of produce, etc., arising from the working of the farm colony is to be reckoned as a voluntary contribution to the Central Committee, and will be available for the payment of the various items set forth above.

Criticism and Suggestion.

Such is the gist of the new Regulations. I hope the new authorities will point-blank refuse to administer them until given a freer hand in dealing with applicants, or at least ignore the regulations, by breaking them whenever necessary. One of the chief values of such a measure as the Unemployment Act should have been that it would have enabled local authorities to try experiments as to the best methods of dealing with the problem. But under the Regulations, everything is of the cast iron order, the evident intention is to make the Act unworkable. It is a wicked foolish policy, and it won't succeed.

From this brief survey of the state of the law it will be seen how superior in every sense is the old method of dealing with the unemployed when compared with the new. The effect of the restrictions and limitations imposed by the Act itself, and even more so by the Regulations of the L. G. B., make it more a measure for ascertaining the extent of unemployment than for providing work for the unemployed. It does not contain one single provision that is new, and the most that can be said for it is that it systematises charitable effort. The financial provisions are totally inadequate for the needs of the case, and there should be a united demand go forth that the local penny rate be supplemented by grants from the National Exchequer. There is no provision for this in the Act, but a willing Government would doubtless find a way. One million a year from the Exchequer would never be missed by the Nation, and would be of incalculable benefit to the Unemployed and to the authorities who have to administer the new Act. Apart from this, and to meet immediate needs, there is always a method of voting a salary to the Mayor open to those Councils which find their Distress Committees ham-

pered by lack of funds. Profits made by such municipal undertakings as trams and the like are a more doubtful source, but no harm could come of putting the matter to the test by voting a sum from this source as a "voluntary" contribution. If Parliament, in its wisdom, will so tie up local authorities as to hamper their freedom of action in dealing with local matters, then localities must assert themselves by over-riding the law if need be. A judge recently did this in the matter of Building Bye-laws; much more should a Corporation in the matter of the unemployed.

In addition to financial grants from the State Exchequer, Parliament should be asked to confer much fuller powers on the new authorities. A Bill of one clause transferring to the new authorities the very ample powers now possessed by Boards of Guardians for dealing with the unemployed would be something worth having. The same result would be attained if the penalty of disfranchisement was definitely abandoned in the case of work provided for the unemployed by Boards of Guardians. Finally, Parliament itself must be forced to assist localities by putting in hand, on a national scale, such works of public utility as may be found to be needed. Work, not charity, is the demand of the unemployed, and which, in one way or another, the State must be prepared to meet.

To prevent misapprehension, I may add that the new Act in no way lessens or weakens the powers hitherto possessed and used by borough and district councils for putting work in hand during the winter months or to tide the unemployed over a period of exceptional distress. The powers contained in the new Act are supplementary to any which were already in existence at the time of its enactment. That all powers, old and new alike, will be needed is a truth which will force itself home upon the national mind in time, for it is certain that the unemployed are with us to stay until some method of industry be evolved which will not turn the over-production of wealth into a weapon for smiting the producers. Unless John Bull grapples vigorously with the problem it will undoubtedly undermine the stability of the nation and ultimately lead to its downfall. It is upon manhood that nations are built, and manhood is destroyed by unemployment.

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